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THE MORAL ORDER OF SEX.¹

There are two great conceptions very generally altogether overlooked, which it is all important to hold in full view in our efforts to understand and interpret the mighty problem of human life. In the first place, this life, while it culminates and becomes complete only in the form of morality or spirit, has its root always in the sphere of nature, and can never disengage itself entirely from its power; in the second place, while it reveals itself perpetually through single individuals, it is nevertheless throughout an organic process, which necessarily includes the universal race, as a living whole, from its origin to its end.

Nature, of course, can never be truly and strictly the mother of mind. The theory of an actual inward development of man's life, out of the life of the world below him, as presented for instance in the little work entitled the "Vestiges of Creation," is entitled to no sort of attention or respect. The plant can by no possibility creep upwards into the region of sensation, and just as little may we conceive of a transition on the part of the mere animal, over into the world of self-conscious intelli-

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gence and will. The sundering gulph is just as deep and impassable in one case as it is in the other. But we must not so understand this, as to lose sight at the same time of the mysterious life union which holds notwithstanding between nature and mind. The world in its lower view, is not simply the outward theatre or stage on which man is to act his part, as a candidate for heaven. In the midst of all its different forms of existence, it is pervaded throughout with the power of a single life, which comes ultimately to its full sense and force only in the human person. This should be plain to the most common observation. Nature is constructed, or we should say rather exists, on the plan of a vast pyramid; which starts in the mass of inorganic matter, and rises steadily through successive stages of organization, first vegetable then animal, till at length it gains in man the summit and crown, towards which it has been evidently reaching and tending from the start. So, in the first chapter of Genesis, we have the process of creation described in this very order, and all conducted to its majestic conclusion finally, only towards the close of the sixth day, in that oracle of infinite majesty and love: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth and over every moving thing that moveth upon the earth." Man is the centre of nature, without which it could not be in any of its parts the living constitution which it is in fact; for the parts in this case subsist not, by themselves or for themselves simply, but in virtue only of their organic comprehension in the whole. Nature of course then rests in man as her own universal sense and end, and can never be disjoined from his life. The union is not outward simply, but inward and vital. Man carries in himself the full mystery of the material world and remains from first to last the organ of its power. He is indeed, in another view, far more than nature. Reason and freedom, as they meet together in the idea of personality, belong to a wholly different order of existence; in virtue of which, he towers high above the whole surrounding world, as the immediate representative and vicegerent of God in its midst; made in the image, and after the likeness of his glorious Maker, as we are told, and for this reason clothed with supremacy over the entire inferior creation. But still, in all this dignity, his native affinity with this creation is not in the least impaired or broken. Nature clings to him still, as the noblest fruit of her own womb, in whose mysterious presence is fulfilled the last prophetic sense of her whole previous life, while at the same time this is made to pass away in

something quite beyond itself. His personality, with all his world-transcending heaven-climbing powers, remains rooted to the earth, conditioned at every point by the material soil from which it has sprung, and reflecting in clear image the outward life which has become etherealized in its constitution. The process of nature is thus rising upwards perpetually into the process of morality, by which in the end the problem of the world is to become complete in the history of man. The first is the necessary basis and support of the second, as truly as the stock is made to carry the flower in which it passes away. Man is the efflorescence of nature, the full bursting forth of her inmost sense and endeavor, into the form of intelligence and will; and his whole thinking and working consequently can be sound and solid, only as they are in fact borne and carried by a growth that springs immediately from her womb.

There is no opposition then, as is sometimes dreamed, between the natural and the moral. They are indeed widely different, but not in such a way as to contradict each other. On the contrary, they can never be rightly sundered or disjoined. Nature, in order to be true to itself, *must* ascend into the sphere of morality; and morality, on the other hand, can have no truth or substance, except as it is found to embody in itself the life of nature, thus emancipated into a higher form. Daughters of heaven as they all are, there is still not a single virtue, which is not in this respect at the same time truly and fully earth-born; as much so, we may say, as its own sweet image, the natural flower, be it modest daisy or stately dahlia, that quietly blooms at its side. A morality that affects to be purely of the skies, can never be other than sickly and sentimental. The more of nature our virtues enshrine, the more vigorous will they be found to be and worthy of respect.

This is one universal law, in the constitution of our human life. Another presents itself, as already stated, in the conception of an organic process, in virtue of which the problem of every individual life is from the start involved in the problem that includes humanity as a whole.

Morality, by its very nature, is something social. It does not simply require the relations which society creates, as an outward field for its action, but stands also only in the sense of these relations as a part of its own being. The idea of man, which is of course originally one and single, in order that it may become actual, must resolve itself into an innumerable multitude of individual lives, whose perfection subsequently can be found again in no other form than that of their general union in a free way.

Provision is made for such a union in the natural constitution of humanity, bound together as it is by a common origin, and upheld by perpetual evolution from itself in the way of history. But mere nature here is not sufficient to secure all that is required. Humanity comes to its full sense only in the sphere of intelligence and freedom; and its proper wholeness therefore is something to be reached, only by the activity of the will, recognizing and embracing, with full consent, the relations in which it is required to move. This again supposes a process, growing forth continually from the law of natural evolution and growth just noticed, by which the individual life, in finding itself under its higher form of self-consciousness, may be still engaged to seek its true place in the integration of life as a whole, flowing into this by the spontaneous force of love, and resting in it as the proper and necessary perfection of its own being. The unity of the race can be fully accomplished thus, only through the free action of the living elements into which it is resolved for this purpose. The process of the union is moral, and in no sense physical, except as conditioned by a natural constitution, which adumbrates and supports the spiritual structure that springs from its presence. It is possible in such case, of course, that the freedom of the individual subject may be abused, and the law of love denied which he is bound by his nature to honor and obey. He may so cling to his own separate and single life, through selfishness and sin, as to wrong perpetually the claims of the general life in which this should become complete. But in all this he wrongs at the same time the inmost sense and meaning also of his own individual being. Whether he choose to make account of it or not, he is formed for morality, that is for free inward union with his race, through the social relations in which he stands; and his life can come to no right development in itself, but must suffer rather perpetual violence in its nature, if it be not allowed to unfold itself in this its only normal and legitimate form. Morality, including as it does the conception of personality, or the self-conscious and self-acting force of reason and will, is something general and universal by its very nature. It implies throughout the idea of fellowship and union, the organic marriage of reciprocally necessary and mutually supplemental parts, working into each other and conspiring towards a common whole. In the power of this universal, omnipotent and irreversible law, the life of every man stands from the beginning, in virtue of its spiritual and moral constitution. He can never be true to himself at a single point, he can never exercise a single moral function, a single act of intelligence or

will, in a free way, without going beyond his own person, and mingling, with conscious coalescence, in the sea of life with which he is surrounded.

By one of the greatest discoveries in modern science, placing the name of Schleiermacher in the sphere of ethics on the same high level with that of Kepler in the sphere of physics, the general moral function, as it may be styled, in man, is found to resolve itself, by a process of analysis which we have no time here to follow, into four cardinal forms of action, two lying on the side of the understanding and two on the side of the will. Each of these can hold properly only under a social character, by which the individual in order that he may be at all complete in himself, is forced to enter into fellowship with his race. Thus arise four great spheres of moral union, in the proper constitution of the world's life. The first is exhibited to us predominantly in the idea of *Art*; the second, in the idea of *Science*; the third, in the idea of *Sociality*, (*Geselligkeit*,) corresponding very much with the conception of *Play*, in its widest and most dignified sense; the fourth and last in the idea of *Business*. These four orders of life are not to be regarded, indeed, as standing wholly out of each other in the way of external distinction; the case requires, on the contrary, that they should grow into one another with inward reciprocal embrace, and it is only their complete concretion in this way at last, as the power of a single life, that can bring the moral process to its rightful conclusion. Still they are for the most part, as the world now stands, more or less out of each other in fact; and each has a nature also of its own, which it must always be important to understand and cultivate under such separate view. They are the four grand departments of humanity, each an organism of universal power within itself, in whose organic conjunction alone we have revealed to us the full idea of morality, as the proper life of man.

Not as co-ordinate in any sense with these, but as above them all, and as constituting indeed the only form in which they can become complete, stands the idea of Religion, as fully actualized in the glorious union of the One Holy Catholic Church. In one aspect, we may style such a moral whole, the *State*. But in a perfect state of society, this idea itself must become merged in the broader and deeper idea of the Church, in which alone we reach the final and adequate expression for our universal human life. Religion of course then stands in no opposition to any of the great divisions of this life, as they have just been named; for this would imply an original contrariety between it and the actual constitution of the world, which the nature of the

case must be held to exclude. On the contrary, it must have power finally to lift them all into its own sphere. Art, science, social and civil life, must all be capable of being sanctified by its transforming presence. It belongs to the very conception of Christianity and the Church thus, that they should take full possession of the world at last, not extensively alone in its outward population, but intensively also in the entire range of its inward life; and it is only in proportion as we find their actual form commensurate with the idea of such catholicity, that this can be said to have reached in any given stadium of their history, its true significance and design.

Underneath this whole magnificent superstructure, on the other side, appears the primitive fundamental form of society, in the constitution of the *Family*. As the four-fold organism of morality terminates in the idea of the Church, so it takes its start here from an organization, that may be regarded as the root of its whole process, rising into view immediately from the mysterious life of nature itself. The domestic constitution stands in no way parallel simply, with the four forms of society that make up the union of humanity as a whole; it includes them all rather in its single nature, in the way of beginning and germ. It is the rich well-spring, out of which flows the river of Eden, that is parted from thence into four heads, and carried forward with fruitful irrigation over the fair garden of life, till all its streams become one again in the deep bosom of the sea.

All society rests on distinction and difference. So the primary form of fellowship now mentioned, lying as it does at the ground of our universal life, is at once provided for and secured, by a radical disruption of the entire race into two great sections or halves, in the form of *sex*. Of all distinctions that exist in our nature, this must be held to be the most significant and profound, as entering before all others into its universal constitution, and forming the basis on the ground of which only all other relations belonging to it become possible and real. It comes into view accordingly in the first mention of man's creation; where we are told that he was made in the image and likeness of God, and at the same time under the two-fold character of male and female, as the necessary form of his perfection. His nature became complete, only when woman was taken from his side, and he was permitted to hail her bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, in the new consciousness to which he first woke by her presence.

Thus radical and original in the constitution of our nature, the sexual difference must necessarily pervade, not simply a part

of its being, but the whole. The life of man is indeed always a complex fact, made up of widely different forms and spheres of existence; but it is always nevertheless, in the midst of all these, a single undivided unity within itself, bound together and ruled throughout by the presence of a common principle or law. The life of the body is ever in strict union with the life of the soul, and this, on the other hand, stands wedded again to that continually, as its own proper self under an outward material form. No less intimate and necessary, in the next place, is the connection that holds between the individual natural constitution, thus inward and outward, and the proper personality of the subject to whom it belongs. It lies in the very conception of personality, it is true, being as it is the life of the spirit, in the form of intelligence and will, that it should not be ruled blindly by the force of mere nature, as comprehended in the individual organization. It is a principle and fountain of action for itself, and is required to act back upon the natural life with such independent force, as may serve to mould and fashion this continually more and more into its own image. But still, this original and independent action, however free it may be in its own nature, can never escape from the particular organization in which it has its basis, and which it is called to fill with its presence. In other words, the inmost life of man, his personal spirit, though absolutely universal in its own character, is made to individualize itself by union with the inferior part of his nature, while at the same time it seeks to lift this into its own sphere. Reason and will accordingly are not the same thing exactly in all men. Personality is conditioned and complexioned, all the world over, by the individual physical nature, somatic and psychic, out of which, and by means of which, it comes to its historical development. It is not possible then of course, that it should not participate in the force of a distinction so broad and deep as that which is involved in the idea of sex. It results necessarily from the organic unity of every single life as a whole, that the order which thus severs the human world into the two grand sections of male and female, should extend to the most spiritual part of our nature as well as to that which is simply corporeal. There is a sex of the mind or soul, just as there is a sex of the body, an inward difference of structure in the one case, including the whole economy of the spirit, fancy and feeling, thought and volition, as broadly marked and strikingly significant, to say the least, as any outward difference of structure which may show itself in the other.

It is altogether preposterous, to think of resolving this differ-

ence into the influence of education or mere social position ; as though nothing more were needed to convert men into women, or women into men, so far as character and spirit are concerned, than simply to make them change places for a time in the order of society, confining the male sex to the employments of the nursery and the kitchen, and throwing open to the female sex the active walks of business, politics and trade. The difference as we may all easily see, is original and constitutional, and in this view co-extensive in full with the entire range of our common life. It shows itself even in the character of the infant, as soon as it begins to discover any signs of character whatever. The tastes and tendencies of the boyish nature are peculiar to it as such, from the first hour of its activity in the nursery, clearly distinguishing it from the nature of the girl. The distinction reigns through all the sports of childhood, and accompanies the entire subsequent development of the spirit onward and upward to mature age. It prevails in full force over the whole broad range of middle life, imparting to it its highest interest and value in a moral view. Finally it ceases not with the decay of bodily vigor and beauty induced by old age itself, but reaches forward still, with a radiant light that grows only more mellow as it is less tinged with the coloring of sense, far down into the vale of years ; covering thus in truth the universal tract of our existence, from the mystery of the womb to the still more impenetrable and solemn mystery of the grave.

Nor can the distinction possibly terminate here. It has been made a question indeed, whether the difference of sex extends to the other world ; and it is characteristic of the Hegelian way of thinking in particular, that it allows but little room for any such supposition, having the tendency always to merge the individual in the general, and to make men mere passing exemplifications of humanity. But this view overthrows in the end the doctrine of a future state altogether ; since without the distinctions of individual nature, as something continued over from the present life, there can be no sense of personal identity, no true resurrection, or other-world consciousness, in any form. It lies in the very conception of our being as we have here described it, that its individual distinctions should reach throughout the whole man in a permanent and enduring way. Personality cannot be evolved at all, except in such union with a particular natural organization, as to have wrought into it from first to last the same particularity, as a necessary part of its own constitution. It is one of the great merits of Schleiermacher again, to have perceived and asserted, with proper force, the claims of the indi-

vidual over against the authority of the universal and absolute, as a permanent element in the constitution of man. The question before us then, according to this view, is already answered. The multiplication of the race will not extend, it is true, over into the other world, and with this must come to an end also the present significance of the sexual relation as concerned in that object; our whole present physical state indeed being but the transient process, by which our being is destined to emerge hereafter into a higher order of existence. In that higher state, we are told, they shall neither marry nor be given in marriage, but resemble in this respect the angels in heaven. The family constitution, in its strict sense, though it be the basis of all morality in its process of revelation, belongs only to the present order of things, and will not be continued in the complete kingdom of God. But we may not suppose that the vast and mighty distinction in our nature, out of which this radical constitution now springs, will come to an end in the same way. Entering as it does into the life of the entire person, it cannot be overthrown by the simple elevation of our mortal individuality into the undying sphere of the spirit. On the contrary it may be expected rather to appear now under its most purely ethical, and for that reason its highest also and richest form. In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female, as there is also neither Jew nor Greek; not however by the full obliteration of all such differences, but only through their free harmonious comprehension in a form of consciousness that is deeper than their opposition, and able thus to reconcile them in an organic way. It is on the back ground of such universal unity precisely, that the differences stand out after all in the clearest delineation which their nature admits. There will be races and nationalities and temperaments, strongly marked, in heaven, no doubt, as we find them here in course of sanctification upon the earth. And so there will be, not in the flesh but in the spirit, the difference of sex there too. Humanity made forever complete in the new creation will comprise in itself still, as the deep ground-tone of its universal organic harmony, the two great forms of existence in which it was comprehended at the beginning, when God created man, we are told, male and female after his own image. In this view, it involves no extravagance to extend the idea of sex even to the angels themselves, although they neither marry nor are given in marriage.

We are now prepared to notice more particularly, though of course still only in the most general way, the constitutional character of the two sexes in a comparative view. The case requires

of course, as already intimated, a glance at the simply physical side of our nature, in the first place, and then at its moral or spiritual side, in which only the first comes finally to its full human significance and force. So intimately interwoven however, are these two spheres of existence, that no full view can be had of one apart from the other, and it is only in their union at last that we are enabled to complete properly the comparison we have in hand.

The *physical* difference of the sexes, is not limited by any means, in the first place, to any particular organs and functions of our simply corporeal structure, but extends to the body as a whole. This is in no sense a mechanical composition merely of various parts outwardly fitted together, but a living whole pervaded throughout with the presence of a common principle and constitution. It is not possible accordingly, that a peculiarity so broad and deep as that of sex should appear as something adventitious and accidental only, in some particular parts of the general organization, without affecting the rest. It must impress itself, more or less clearly, upon the whole. This we find accordingly to be the case in fact. Both anatomically and physiologically considered, the whole body is made to participate in the sexual character. Man and woman are so completely different in their whole organization, that as it has been remarked no single part of the one could be properly substituted for the corresponding part of the other. Bones and muscles, the turn of the limbs, general height and bulk, the conformation of the head and breast, the show of the skin, the expression of the face, the tones of the voice, the bearing and carriage of the person, all are comprehended in the same universal distinction. So also in the case of the several great systems of which life is composed; the action of liver, lungs and brain, is subjected to corresponding modification. In man the arterial and cerebral systems prevail; in woman, the venous and ganglionic; creating a preponderance of irritability in the first case, and in the second a similar preponderance of sensibility, conditioning thus throughout their different capabilities and tendencies, and indicating with sure necessity the different spheres in which they are appointed to move.—In the next place with the purely corporeal or somatic difference now stated, corresponds also the inward or psychical region of what must still be denominated our physical nature. This includes the whole natural consciousness, the product directly of our animal organization as such, which the true spirit within us is required to raise into its own native sphere of freedom, that it may become the vesture, subsequently, of its own

life. Such consciousness from the start is not the same thing in man that it is found to be in woman. Sensation and perception, feeling and affection, appetite and tendency, inclination and desire, are all modified by the power of sex. The whole inward and outward nature, harmoniously constructed in each case within itself, is comprehended in the same distinction, and carried always in the same direction. Man is characterized by superior strength and activity, while woman is more delicately tender and passive. Thought predominates in man, in woman taste and feeling. All goes to indicate that man is formed to exercise authority and protection, and to wrestle both physically and spiritually with the surrounding world; while woman is led by her whole nature rather, to cultivate a spirit of submission and dependence, and finds her proper sphere in the retirement of the house and family. We are in this way, however, conducted over to a still higher apprehension of the difference under consideration. It is only as nature passes upwards, as its constitution here requires it to do, into the sphere of the spirit, that the full sense and force of the distinction, thus sublimated by the ethical process, is brought finally into full view.

In this character, the difference is no longer natural simply, but in the fullest sense *moral*. Personality unites in itself the presence of a spiritual universal life, which is strictly and truly the fountain of its own activity in the form of intelligence and will, and a material organization as the necessary medium and basis of its revelation. In this relation, the spirit, while it must remain always the centre of the whole person with power to assert its own proper primacy, is notwithstanding capable of being acted upon and influenced in various measures by the power of nature, as brought to bear upon it through the organism of the body. In proportion, at the same time, to the independence it may be urged and enabled to assert in its own sphere, will be the strength and force of the personality thus brought into view. Now it results from the whole peculiarity of her organization, as already described, and so of course lies also in the proper purpose and destiny of her sex, that woman should possess less of this independence than man. Her life springs more immediately and directly from nature, even under its true ethical form. There is a specific difference, in this view, between the personality of the sexes, taking up into itself and completing the sense of all differences in a lower sphere. It resolves itself ultimately, we may say, into this, that the universal side of our common humanity prevails in man, and its individual side in woman. Self consciousness in man runs readily into the general form of

thought, disposing him for comprehensive observation, speculation and science; in woman it takes more the character of feeling, which is always something single, closely coupled with fancy and art; her thoughts are her own inward states and impressions mainly, and the product immediately of the outward occasions from which they grow. So again self-activity in man takes naturally the broad character of will, carrying him forth into the open world, involving him in business and conflict on the arena of public life; while in woman it is exercised more in the form of impulse and desire, falls more fully within the flow of nature as embodied in her own particular organization, and for this very reason, at the same time, participates more largely in the character of passive necessity and dependence, as the law by which nature is ruled. The personality of man is more vigorous and concentrated, and if we may use the expression, more thoroughly and completely *personal*, than the personality of woman: showing him clearly thus to be the centre and bearer properly of the human nature as a whole. This implies no inferiority on the side of woman; she is just as complete and whole in her own sphere as man can possibly be in his; and this sphere is just as necessary also as the other to the true perfection of human life. It lies however in the nature of the case, that this life should be, not a dualism, but an inward unity; and that the distinction therefore in which it starts, reaching as it does into the personal consciousness itself, should be so ordered nevertheless as to return in upon itself again to a common personal ground. The relation of the sexes then requires, that their two-fold constitution, dividing as it does the proper wholeness of humanity, should be supported at last as a single personality from a common basis on the one side or the other. The general nature accordingly is made to centre in man; and woman taken in symbolic vision from his side, while she forms the necessary complement of his being, comes to her full spiritual development and gains her true native freedom and independence, only by seeking in him the central support which she lacks in herself, and by bringing her whole consciousness thus into profound union with his life, as the inmost and deepest ground of her own.

With such natural and personal differences, the sexes are designated from the start to different spheres of life, and have widely different missions to fulfil in the social system. Neither the duties of the man on the one hand, nor his virtues and perfections on the other, are the same in general that belong to woman; and so also the vices which most dishonor the one, are not always

of exactly parallel turpitude for the other. Man's vocation is to go forth into the world, to wrestle with nature as its rightful lord and master, to make his understanding and will felt on the general course of life. The forest-felling axe, the soil-subduing plough, the mason's hammer and the joiner's saw, the wand of judgment, the sceptre of authority and the sword of war, belong properly to his hand, and to his alone. Business, politics, outward enterprize, learning and science, are all computed in his legitimate domain. Woman on the other hand, finds her true orbit, as we have already said, in the quiet retreats of private and domestic life. Her highest glory and greatest power are comprehended in the sacred names of wife and mother. She is not indeed shut out from society, in a wider view. On the contrary, she is fitted to exert the largest influence in the social sphere strictly taken, as distinguished from that of business and science. But it is always under her domestic character only, and in virtue of her peculiar constitution, as representing the individual side of the world's life, rather than that which is general and universal. The moment she affects to overstep this limit, by the personal assumption of public and general functions, in which she can have no part properly except through the medium of the other sex, she makes herself weak, and forfeits her title to respect. The popular platform, the rostrum, the pulpit, are interdicted to her nature, no less than the battle field and crowded exchange. All public primacy is unsuitable to her sex; nor is it easy to see certainly, how the "monstrous regimen of women" as denounced by the Old Scottish Elijah, in his memorable "*Blast*," should not be as fair an object of indignation and scorn when seated on the throne, as it is felt to be in all inferior stations.¹ Christianity here is always deep, and at the

¹ "Who would not judge that body to be a monster," says Knox, "where there was no head eminent above the rest, but that the eyes were in the hands, the tongue and the mouth beneath in the belly and the ears in the feet? No less is the body of that commonwealth, where a woman beareth empire; for either doth it lack a lawful head, as in very deed it doth, or else an idol is exalted instead of the true head. An idol I call that which hath the form and appearance, but lacketh the virtue and strength, which the name and proportion doth resemble and promise. I confess a realm may in despite of God—he of his wise judgment so giving them over unto a reprobate mind—exalt up a woman to that monstiferous honor to be esteemed as head. But impossible it is to man or angel, to give unto her the properties and perfect offices of a lawful head; for the same God that denied power to the hands to speak, to the belly to hear, and to the feet to see, hath denied to the woman power to command man, and hath taken away wisdom to consider, and providence to foresee, the things that be profitable to the commonwealth."—*First Blast*.

same time true to nature. "Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church." So again: "Let the women learn in silence with all subjection. I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression."

The order of society, springing as it does from the sexual relation first of all, imperiously requires that the opposition in which it holds should be sacredly regarded and preserved, throughout the whole economy of life. All that serves to neutralize it, or to thrust it out of sight, should be reprobated as an agency unfriendly to the best interests of the human race. Civilization and culture, morality and religion, while they call for the free intercourse of the sexes, as polar sides of one and the same social constitution, call no less clearly at the same time for their constant distinction and separation in all that pertains to inward character and outward life. They need a different education. The accomplishments which adorn the one, are not those which most become the other. It is not without reason that they are required to distinguish themselves in their outward dress. "Doth not even nature itself teach you," says the apostle, "that if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him? but if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her; for her hair is given her for a covering." All confusion of the sexes, all removal of the lines and land-marks that show the true and proper boundary between them, is a crime against society of the most serious order. For either sex to forsake its own sphere, and to intrude into that which belongs of right only to the other, though it should be even in the most trivial things merely, is ever something revolting to all reason and taste. To be unsexly, in costume, habit, spirit or occupation, is to be at the same time unnatural also and immoral.

This opposition and distinction however, as we have already seen, are intended only to make room for the more perfect union of the two interests thus flung asunder. It is because they are different in this way, and in proportion also as the difference is understood and respected, that the sexes are capable of entering into the intimate union, which lies at the ground of our whole human life. Physically, psychologically, and morally, man shows himself to be at all points what woman is not. The one

is the opposite of the other. But for this very reason, the relation is one of reciprocal want and supply. Neither section of the race is complete in its own nature, while the defect which exists on each side is met with its proper complement precisely in the comparative advantage of the other. Humanity is the unity of the two sexes : which as such accordingly can never rest in one apart from the other, but must seek continually the full conjunction of both, as original, necessary component sides of its proper constitution. In the nature of the case it can never be satisfied with such conjunction, except under the most inward and spiritual form, as the power ultimately of a single individual life. The sexes are made complete only in and through each other ; and this necessarily by such a union only, as extends to their whole constitution, physical and spiritual, embracing thus the entire inward life full as much as that which is exhibited outwardly in the sphere of flesh and blood. Each is needed to fill out and complete the personality or moral nature of the other, no less than its material organization. The qualities of man's spirit require to be softened and refined by communion with the mild nature of woman ; as she on the other hand needs the strength and firmness of his more universal life, on which to lean as the stable prop of her own. The personality of man is enriched and beautified, through woman, on the side of nature ; the personality of woman is consolidated and perfected, through man, on the side of the idea.

In this view, of course, the union which the case demands, can not overthrow but must serve rather to establish in full force, the order we have already found to hold between the two sexes in their personal constitution. It is emphatically the fact of this order, involving as it does a certain primacy on the one side and a corresponding subordination on the other, that makes it possible for the union to take the vital, fundamental form, that is here required. Two strictly co-ordinate personalities could not be expected to flow thus into the power of a single life. It is because woman has her true and proper centre at last in man, and not in herself, that it is possible for the sexes to become, not simply one flesh, but one mind also and one soul. Her consciousness thus poised upon the personality of man, is brought to such harmony and freedom and active force within itself, as it could never be advanced to in any other way. All this implies no sort of dishonor or degradation. It is simply the necessary form of our general human life itself, whose perfection demands this distinction of sexes, as something which, to be real at all, must hold in such proportional relation and no other. It is precisely

the strength and glory of woman, to be thus dependently joined to the personality of man, as the vine is carried upwards by clinging to a trunk more vigorous and rough than its own, which it serves at the same time gracefully to ennoble and adorn. Marriage is indeed in this view, more significant and necessary, we may say, for woman, than it can be held to be for man. It is the appointed and regular process of her full emancipation from the power of sense and nature over into the sphere of a firm and enduring spiritual independence. She needs it to make her own personality, whether as intelligence or will, sufficiently central and deep to sustain itself as it should against the force of the surrounding world. It is by the mighty energy of love, in this form, that she comes at last fully to herself, and is enabled to bring into clear revelation the true wealth of her nature. In a deep sense thus we may apply to the case, that mystic word of the apostle "She shall be saved (*διὰ τεκνογονίας*) by childbearing." Connected as it is immediately with the thought of her moral weakness, as exemplified in the fall, (1. Tim. ii. 14, 15,) it seems to refer not obscurely to the like mystic word of the curse pronounced against her, Gen. iii. 16, in consequence of that catastrophe. The relation which is made the fountain of her deepest sorrows, under the iron reign of sin, becomes itself the well-spring of her salvation, through the law of "faith and charity and holiness" revealed in Jesus Christ. So profoundly true again is that other declaration: "The head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man;" or as we have it in another place: "The husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church" (1. Cor. xi. 3: Eph. v. 28). So intimately close is the union, for which the sexual distinction opens the way, and in which alone it comes finally to its true meaning.

On this union, the primitive and most fundamental form of human fellowship, depends not simply the perpetuation of the race, but the entire problem besides of its social and moral history. It is by means of it, in the first place, that the generic or universal life of man is brought to assert its proper authority, over against the life of the individual singly and separately considered. The individual is forced to feel that he is no complete whole in himself; that his nature can be true to its own constitution, only by passing beyond his single person and seeking its necessary complement in another; that, in one word, to be a true and full man at all, he must enter into communion with his race, and make himself tributary, in a free way, to the high ends for which it has been placed in the world. This subordination

of the single life to the general, is of such vast consequence to the entire plan and structure of the moral world, that it must be secured by an invincible guaranty in the constitution of the world itself. It is curious and instructive to see accordingly, how the law of society, lying as it does at the foundation of all ethics, is here made to take root, as it were, "in the lowest parts of the earth;" illustrating on a grand scale, the proposition affirmed in the beginning of this article, that all morality has its basis in nature, and is to be regarded as genuine only as it shows itself to be in very truth the efflorescence of this lower life, bursting upwards into the ethereal region of the spirit.

The bond by which the sexes are thus drawn together is lodged, in the first instance, deep in the physical constitution of those who are under its power. In this form it is the sexual appetite or instinct, a purely natural tendency, which has for its object the preservation of the race, as the instinct of hunger is designed to secure the preservation of the single individual. It is the power of the general nature over its own constituent factors or parts, by which these are urged to seek, each in the other the full sense of their proper being, and thus to constitute, in the way of reciprocal appropriation, a living union that may fairly represent both.

But nature here as elsewhere is required to lose itself always in the power of a higher life, in which its action shall no longer be blind and unfree, but the product of the spirit itself in its own true form. As the sexual relation extends to the whole person, the union for which it calls can never be complete except as it is made to embrace this in its full totality, under a strictly central and universal form. It must be a union of mind and will, a process of mutual apprehension and reciprocal personal appropriation, in the farthest depths of the soul. In no other form can it be truly normal, and answerable to the high purposes it is designed to serve. The sexual tendency *ethicised* in this way, and sublimated into the sphere of personality, becomes *love*. This is always in its very nature something moral and spiritual, springing from the will, and having regard to the inmost person. Still in the case before us, it is in the fullest sense also sexual. It rests throughout on the distinction of sex, and regards the spirit only as beheld and apprehended under such modification. Hence the legitimate power of beauty, as constituting on the side of either sex to the eye of the other, the outward image and expression of the inward life in its sexual form. All true beauty, of course, in this view, falls back upon the spirit, while at the same time its proper revelation is to be sought in the out-

ward person. A sexual interest that includes no regard to beauty, must necessarily be immoral, as falling short of the high spiritual region in which only *love* finds its suitable home. The merely animal nature, in such case, is suffered to prevail over the human. It belongs to love, not to overthrow absolutely indeed the power of mere sense, but still so to cover it at every point with its own superior presence, that it shall not be permitted to come into separate view.

Love, as now described, includes in itself always a regard to the sexual character as such; and so far there is truth and force in the observation of Sterne, that no man ever loves any one woman as he should, who has not at the same time a love for her whole sex. This however is only one side of the subject. Love, to be complete, must be also strictly and distinctly individual, determined towards its object as a single person to the exclusion of all others.

The single plant is only a specimen of its kind, the particular animal a copy of the tribe to which it belongs. But it is not thus in the human sphere. The individual man is vastly more than a passing exemplification simply of the generic life that flows through his person. He comprehends in himself an independent specific nature, that can be properly represented by no other. His individuality is always at the same time personal, and as such something universal and constant; as on the other hand his personality is always individual, taking its special complexion from the living material nature out of which it springs. Every such individual personality is a world within itself, existing under given relations to other worlds of corresponding nature around it. No two of these are exactly alike, and all by these differences fall short of the measure that belongs to humanity as a whole. This is constituted only by the society and union of the individual personalities into which its falls, joined together morally, not with indiscriminate conjunction, but according to specific reciprocal correspondence, in the way of inward want and supply. The general law of moral association then being such, it must extend of course in full power to the primary and fundamental union which we have now under consideration. It lies in the very conception of love, as already explained, that it should concentrate itself upon the spirit, as revealed under a sexual form; but to do this fully, it must be carried by inward elective affinity towards its object as a particular person. It is not simply the general attraction of sex, that can satisfy its demands; it requires besides that this attraction shall lodge itself in the presence of a specific personal life, which is felt to be as

such the necessary complement of its own nature. Under no other form can the union here in question, be regarded as moral. It is not every woman that is adapted, physically or spiritually, to be a help-meet for every man; but as the sexes are formed for each other in a general way, so each individual of either sex may be said to be formed for some corresponding individual of the other, and it is of the highest consequence of course, for themselves and for the race also, that they should be able to find and know each other in the confused wilderness of the world's life.

We may go so far as to say, perhaps, that in a perfectly normal state of the world, this pairing and matching of individual natures would be so complete as to exclude, in every case, all possibility of different choice. Each would be for each, by absolute singularity of mutual suitableness and want, in such a way as to shut out the whole world besides. Of course our actual life, disordered as it is by sin, cannot be expected or required to conform strictly to this rule of ideal perfection. But still it should include at least an approximation towards it; and it must be regarded as defective, in proportion precisely as it is found to fall short of such high measure. In a state of barbarism, but small account comparatively is made of individual personality, in the commerce of the sexes; which however is simply itself an expression of the barbarous life to which it belongs, showing it to border close on the merely animal existence below it, in which as there is no personality so there is no room also for the idea of love in any form. The savage takes his wife, very much as a specimen simply of her sex, just as he selects his dog, in the same view, to accompany him in the chase. It is remarkable too, that in such low stage of moral development, the individual nature itself stands out to view for the most part, only under dim and indistinct lines. It is the sense of personality in the end, that advances the single life to its legitimate rights and claims, investing it with clearly marked distinction under its own form, and challenging towards it in this way the attention and respect it is entitled to receive. We are furnished here accordingly with an unerring standard of civilization and social culture, which in the case before us especially is always of plain and easy application.

The sexual union, representing thus the general relation of the sexes to each other on the one hand, and involving the elective personal affinity of individual natures on the other, mediated throughout by the sacred power of love, comes to its proper expression in the idea of *marriage*; whose nature at the same time is defined and explained, by the whole analysis through

which we have now passed. This is simply the true and normal power of that commerce and communion, in which the distinction of sex comes at last to its full sense, as the necessary completion of humanity, and the primitive basis of all history and society. The attributes that belong of right to this union, are the true and proper attributes also of marriage; which is not therefore something joined to our nature, as it were, from abroad, and in the way of outward order or device, whether human or divine; but should be considered rather as part of our nature itself, a simple fact in its organic constitution, without whose presence it must cease to exist altogether.

Marriage, of course then, is the process of reciprocal appropriation, by which the sexes according to their original destination, become one, and so complete themselves each, in the power of a single personal life. In the nature of the case, this double appropriation is required to extend to the entire being of the parties concerned in the transaction: for the sexual difference is such, as we have already seen, that each side of the relation requires the opposite, not in part only but in full, to make itself complete. This implies, at the same time, a corresponding act of self-abandonment, on each side, in favor of the other, as the necessary condition of full mutual appropriation in return. Each yields itself up to be the property of the other, in the very act of embracing this again as its own property. So as regards the merely outward and natural life. The parties are made "one flesh." This of right, however, only in virtue of the inward spiritual embrace, by which the personality of each is brought to rest in that of the other, by the deep mysterious power which belongs to love. The case, in its own nature admits of no compromise or reserve. Marriage calls solemnly for the gift of the whole being, on the altar of love, and can never be satisfied with any sacrifice that is less full and entire. In proportion as the relation comes short of such inward, central, community of soul and life, it must be regarded as an imperfect approximation only to its own true idea.

There is a difference indeed in the form of this mutual self-surrendry on the part of the two sexes, corresponding with the order of their general relation as already noticed. As the united person constituted by marriage is required to centre ultimately in man, it follows that the union calls for the largest measure of such free sacrifice on the side of woman. For this also she is happily disposed by her whole constitution. Love is emphatically the element of her life. She needs the opportunity of going fully out of herself in this way, in order that she may do

full justice to her own nature. There is nothing in life accordingly more deep, and beautiful, and full of moral power, than the devotion of woman's love. It goes beyond all that is possible, under the same form, on the side of the other sex. The perfection of marriage so far as she is concerned, turns on the measure in which she is prepared to make herself over, in body, mind, and outward estate, without limit or reserve, to him whom she has chosen to be her head. The husband is not required to quit himself, exactly to the same extent and in the same way. He may not resign the sense of his more central and universal character, by which precisely he is qualified to become the personal bearer of the united life involved in the marriage bond. All this however gives him no right to exercise his independence in a selfish way. It lays him under obligation only, to make himself over, in this character, to the possession of his wife, answering thus with full unbounded fidelity and truth, the full unbounded measure of her confidence and trust. "So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies: he that loveth his wife loveth himself."

The idea of marriage, as now presented, clearly excludes, not only all promiscuous concubinage, but all polygamy also and divorce. In its very nature it is the full and enduring union of one man with one woman, according to the law of sexual difference and correspondence. Many outward reasons may be urged against the irregularities now mentioned; but the grand argument in the case at last is just this, that they contradict the true conception of the sexual union itself. This can never take place normally, except in the way of mutual self-surrendry and *whole* appropriation of each other, on the part of those who are its subjects, that is in the way of marriage. Polygamy necessarily violates this law, and the same is true also of divorce, which is tolerated by Christianity accordingly only where the marriage bond has been already nullified, in fact, by the crime of adultery.

We cannot bring the whole subject to a conclusion better perhaps, than by making use of it to expose, in a direct way, as has been done in some measure indirectly already, the entire theory of what is sometimes styled *the emancipation of woman*, as held with various modification, by our modern Fourierites and Socialists of every description. Of all forms of agrarianism, this is to be counted, as it is in some respects the most plausible, so also the most mischievous and false. No maxim universally taken, can be more impudently untrue, than that which asserts the general liberty and equality of the human race, in the sense

of this disorganizing school. The freedom and independence of all, not only outwardly but inwardly also, is conditioned always by the position assigned to them of God in the social organism to which they belong. All are free only as comprehended in given social relations, and in the measure of their correspondence as parts with the idea of the whole. The proper unity of life, as an organic system, involves of necessity the conception, not simply of manifold distinction, but of relative dependence also and subordination. Of this we have a broad, perpetual exemplification, in the constitution of the sexes. The school which we have now in view, affects to vindicate what it calls the rights of woman against the authority of the stronger sex, as though this had taken advantage of its accidental physical superiority in this view, to assert a primacy and lordship here, which is in full violation of the original and proper equality of the race. The savage, it is said, turns his wife into a slave, the instrument of his own pleasure and convenience; and it is only a higher order of the same barbarism, by which in the reigning structure of our present civilization, the whole sex is shorn of its political and public rights and forced to devote itself to the service of man in the nursery and kitchen. We need in this respect, we are told, a reconstruction of society in such a way, as that among other abuses this Mohammedan prejudice also may be fully abolished, admitting woman thus to a free participation in all public counsels and transactions, so far as she may show ability for the purpose, and placing her on full level with the opposite sex both at home and abroad. So runs the theory. It has the universal custom of the world against it, and also what would seem to be the most explicit testimony of the bible. But of this we speak not at present. We meet it here with the moral geology, if we may so term it, of our human nature itself, drawn forth with overwhelming evidence, from the everlasting mountains of its original constitution. The theory in question is just as unphilosophical, as it is unbiblical and contrary to all history. It violates morality and nature alike.

It is by no accident, or violent wrong merely, that woman is made to occupy a secondary rank in the economy of human society. Her outward weakness makes it necessary, to some extent; but this itself is only the index of a still deeper necessity for it in her spiritual constitution. All the purposes of her being, all the conditions of her welfare and peace, all the laws of her interior organization require this subordination to the other sex, and urge her towards it as the only possible way in which her personality can be made complete. This relation of

dependence needs to be well fortified indeed against abuse; as it may run easily otherwise into vast tyranny and wrong; but still it remains forever indispensable in itself to woman's proper life, and under its normal character constitutes emphatically her spiritual salvation. It is not in her physical nature merely that she is formed to lean on man as her necessary prop and stay. He is the ultimate centre also of her personality, through which alone she can stand in right organic communication with the general world, and so attain to true and solid freedom in her own position. No agrarian radicalism can ever change the moral order of humanity here; for we may say of it, precisely, as the Psalmist does of the constitution of the planets: "Forever, O Lord, thy word is settled in heaven!" The emancipation of these heavenly bodies from their appointed orbits, were just as rational an object of reforming zeal, as to set woman free from her natural subordination to the headship of man. All such freedom is monstrous in its very nature; and the wrong which it involves can never fail to avenge itself, with terrible moral retribution on all concerned in it, wherever it may be allowed. Most disastrous will be its action on woman herself, if she can be tempted thus to forsake her own character and sphere. She must unsex herself more or less in the very step; and by doing so, she is necessarily shorn, to the same extent, of all her native dignity and strength. The more thoroughly masculine she may prove herself to be in this way, the more fully and certainly will it be at the cost of all true respect whether public or private. The process of such unnatural self-dereliction exerts unavoidably, at the same time, a demoralizing influence on her own spirit. She becomes in reality coarse, and the fine gold of her nature is turned into what must be counted at best but common brass. Society too is made to suffer necessarily, by the perversion. It requires a certain amount of moral fanaticism, in the first place, to endure at all any such aberration of the sex from its proper sphere, and the thing itself can never fail subsequently to aggravate the evil out of which it thus springs. The influence of woman exercised in this form, is not at all to refine the face of life, but to render it vulgar and harsh. Such an "emancipation," made general in any community, would involve the overthrow ultimately of all taste and refinement, the downfall of all morality and civilization.

It deserves to be well considered, at the same time, that this doctrine of the full co-ordination of the sexes in the social system, strikes necessarily at last at the sanctity of the marriage relation itself. It is the subordination of the female nature to

that of man precisely, which makes room for that peculiar union of the two, in which the true idea of marriage consists. The possibility of such an inward personal oneness as it requires in the case of husband and wife, turns not simply on their difference of sex, but on the order also in which this relation is found actually to hold. The common personality which is thus created, must have a real centre on which to rest; and the correspondence between the sexes is such, that this is fully and necessarily determined to the one side only, and not to the other. The help which each needs here in the other, is not at all, in this respect, of parallel character. The whole nature of woman urges her towards man, as the necessary centre of her own being; her personality is so constituted, that it can be perfected only by falling over upon the deeper and broader consciousness of man, as its ultimate support. The personality of man on the contrary, is constitutionally formed to take this central position, and is made complete by woman, not as the basis of his being, but as the necessary integration simply of its proper compass and volume. So related the two are suited to flow together in the power of one and the same life, and may be expected to do so when the proper conditions are present, by the mysterious union of marriage; which, in such view, is no outward temporary contract of merely civil nature, no simply moral partnership, however high and solemn, for purposes beyond itself; but a mystical sacramental bond rather that reaches into the inmost sanctuary of life, and is thus of indissoluble force by its very nature. All this however is made to assume a different aspect, as soon as we lose sight of the order which holds in the original interior economy of the sexes, and under the pretence of restoring woman to her inborn rights, admit such a view of her nature, as sets it in full parallel with the opposite nature of man. There is no room then for the idea of marriage, as the organic comprehension of two lives in the power of a single personal root. It is impossible to withstand the fatal error, by which it is resolved into the conception of a simply outward compact, between independent parties, for mutual convenience and profit. Then of course its inviolable sanctity is gone, and no good reason can be assigned why it should not become as free finally as social partnerships of any other kind. So it is that all Socialism, having no sense of the true nature of the sexual union, as the basis of all morality and society under a settled and necessary form, shows a tendency always in fact, whether it be owned or not, to run into that worst form of agrarian disorder, by which the marriage tie itself is proclaimed a mere social abuse. In its pretended

regard for the freedom and dignity of woman, it robs her of the entire glory of her sex and takes away the last bulwark of her independence and strength.

J. W. N.

THE NEW TESTAMENT MIRACLES.

Notes on the Miracles of our Lord. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, M. A., *Professor of Divinity, King's College, London*; *Author of "Notes on the Parables of our Lord," &c., &c.* From the last London edition. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. Phila.: G. S. Appleton. 1850. Pp. 375, 8 vo.

This is a work which it is a pleasure to read, and a privilege to recommend. We are glad to find too that it has been favorably noticed by our religious press in general; though we feel very sure that a good deal in it, if fully understood, could hardly pass muster with the principles of censorship, to which this tribunal is to a large extent mechanically committed. Trench is a favorite with us among living English writers. We became acquainted with him first, through his work on the Parables; which we are glad to see has come lately to a second American edition. The present volume on the Miracles is fully in the same strain. As a writer, his style is considerably defective; the neglect of rhetorical composition amounting at times to downright carelessness and disorder. But there is a continual freshness and richness in the matter of his thoughts, which causes the intelligent reader to lose sight of this fault, and carries him forward in spite of it with enduring interest and attention. There is nothing dull or heavy in what he writes. On the contrary, his pen is always full of vivacity and spirit, as well as replete with the most sound and wholesome instruction. There is a truly felicitous combination besides, in all his works, of learning and popularity. The results of the finest scholarship are brought into view continually, in a form to reach and affect the most common reader; provided only some proper *spiritual* susceptibility be at hand, to make room for the impression. A deep vein of piety runs through every page, of the most truly *evangelical* order; not after the flat prosy style of much that affects to carry away the whole honor of this title, and which turns out

at last to be itself only powerless cant and sham ; but in the sense of a heartfelt communion with the life of the gospel, under its own actively living form.

The writer shows himself fully at home in the literature of his subject, both modern and ancient. He has however a special fondness for the old patristic divinity ; and it is with good effect he brings it to bear continually on what he has in hand, particularly in the way of notes, whether for the purpose of confirmation or contrast. He abounds especially with rich racy quotations from St. Augustine ; for whom he appears to entertain a more than common reverence and regard. He shows himself well acquainted also with the later theological learning of Germany ; and possesses the art, (which *all* have not,) of steering the proper medium with regard to it, between slavish dependence upon it, on the one side, and no less slavish contempt (or *show* of contempt) for it, on the other. It is a poor business certainly, to hang to the skirts simply of such foreign science, in a purely passive way ; and the affectation of those who do so, is at all times deserving of pity and scorn. But it is hardly necessary to say, that the mere converse of this carries with it in itself no argument either of freedom or of strength. There is room for sorry affectation on that side too. A man may ring changes on transcendentalism, and revile the names of Kant and Hegel in round style ; and yet be not much of a philosopher himself, when all is over. He may even abuse Schleiermacher, and still furnish no sure proof by it of his own superior orthodoxy or learning. That is after all a cheap reputation for either, that is sought or acquired in any such cheap and poor way. In the author before us we are glad to find nothing of this sort. His independence is not blind. There is reason in his criticism.

The work here under notice is introduced with a Preliminary Essay on Miracles, which we consider admirable in its kind, and particularly worthy of being read and studied. The first chapter treats of the Names of Miracles. "Every discussion about a thing will best proceed," we are told, "from an investigation of the name or names which it bears ; for the name ever seizes and presents the most distinctive features of the thing, embodying them for us in a word. In the name we have the true declaration of the innermost nature of the thing ; we have a witness to that which the universal sense of men, finding its utterance in language, has ever felt thus to lie at its heart ; and if we would learn to know the thing, we must start with seeking accurately to know the name which it bears." Here is

philosophy and life at the very outset, with a wholesome touch of mysticism, which may well pass as a fair specimen of the reigning tone and temper of the book throughout. On the last of the names noticed, we have the following interesting observation :

“A further term by which St. John very frequently names the miracles is eminently significant. They are very often with him simply ‘works,’ (v. 36; vii. 21; x. 25, 32, 38; xiv. 11, 12; xv. 24; see also Matt. xi. 2.) The wonderful is in his eyes only the natural form of working for him who is dwelt in by all the fulness of God; he must, out of the necessity of his higher being, bring forth these works greater than man’s. They are the periphery of that circle, whereof he is the centre. The great miracle is the Incarnation; all else, so to speak, follows naturally and of course. It is no wonder that he whose name is ‘Wonderful’ (Isaiah ix. 6,) does works of wonder; the only wonder would be if he did them not. The sun in the heavens is itself a wonder, but not that, being what it is, it rays forth its effluences of light and heat. These miracles are the fruit after its kind, which the divine tree brings forth; and may with a deep truth, be styled ‘works’ of Christ, with no further addition or explanation.”—*P. 14.*

The relation of Miracles to Nature is next considered; a most difficult subject, as all know who have turned their thoughts to it ever in any earnest way. The common course of nature is marvellous; but it is still most shallow and fallacious to confound the miraculous and the natural together for this reason, in the way some pretend, as being in the end the same. “The distinction indeed which is sometimes made, that in the miracle God is immediately working, and in other events is leaving it to the laws which he has established, to work, cannot at all be admitted; for it has its root in a dead mechanical view of the universe, which lies altogether remote from the truth. The clock-maker makes his clock, and leaves it; the ship-builder builds and launches his ship, and others navigate it; but the world is no curious piece of mechanism, which its Maker makes and then dismisses from his hands, only from time to time reviewing and repairing it.—*Laws of God exist only for us. It is a will of God for himself.*” The ordinary processes of nature are as truly full of God’s presence and will, as any miracles. “The seed that multiplies in the furrow is as marvellous as the bread that multiplied in Christ’s hands.” Still the miracle, though not a *greater* manifestation of divine power than the common course of nature, is a *different* manifestation. It is the power

which is always at work in the other form, standing forth in a special and extraordinary way, with direct address to those present, for the purpose of fixing their attention on the mission or message to which it is attached as a seal.

In this view however, the miracle can never be *against* nature. It is wholly unsatisfactory to speak of God's wonderful works in such form, as *violations* of natural law; they are above and beyond nature, as to us known, but not contrary to it. Spinoza has taken advantage of the fault, by which this distinction is too commonly overlooked. "The miracle is not thus unnatural, nor can it be; since the unnatural, the contrary to order, is of itself the ungodly, and can in no way therefore be affirmed of a divine work such as that with which we have to do. The very idea of the world, as more than one name which it bears testifies, is that of an order; that which comes in then to enable it to realize this idea which it has lost, will scarcely itself be a disorder. So far from this, the true miracle is a higher and a purer nature, coming down out of the world of untroubled harmonies into this world of ours, which so many discords have jarred and disturbed, and bringing this back again, though it be but for one prophetic moment, into harmony with that higher." Nature is not opposed or violated, when one order of action and work is simply brought to yield to another of superior worth.

"Continually we behold in the world around us lower laws held in restraint by higher, mechanic by dynamic, chemical by vital, physical by moral; yet we say not, when the lower thus gives place in favor of the higher, that there was any violation of law,—that anything contrary to nature came to pass; rather we acknowledge the law of a greater freedom swallowing up the law of a lesser. Thus, when I lift my arm, the law of gravitation is not, as far as my arm is concerned, denied or annihilated; it exists as much as ever, but is held in suspense by the higher law of my will. The chemical laws which would bring about decay in animal substances still subsist, even when they are hemmed in and hindered by the salt which keeps those substances from corruption. The law of sin in a regenerate man is held in continual check by the law of the spirit of life; yet is it in his members still, not indeed working, for a mightier law has stepped in and now holds it in check, but still there, and ready to work, did that higher law cease from its more effectual operation. —In the miracle, this world of ours is drawn into and within a higher order of things; laws are then at work in the world, which are not the laws of its fallen condition, for they are laws of mightier range and higher perfec-

tion; and as such they claim to make themselves felt, and to have the pre-eminence which is rightly their own —

“Thus Aquinas, whose greatness and depth upon the subject of miracles I well remember once hearing Coleridge exalt, and painfully contrast with the modern theology on the same subject (*Sum. Theol.* part 1. qu. 105, art. 6): *A qualibet causa derivatur aliquis ordo in suos effectus, cum quælibet causa habeat rationem principii. Et ideo secundum multiplicationem causarum multiplicantur et ordines, quorum unus continetur sub altero, sicut et causa continetur sub causa. Unde causa superior non continetur sub ordine causæ inferioris, sed e converso. Cujus exemplum apparet in rebus humanis. Nam ex paterfamilias dependet ordo domus, qui continetur sub ordine civitatis, qui procedit a civitatis rectore: cum et hic contineatur sub ordine regis, a quo totum regnum ordinatur. Si ergo ordo rerum consideretur prout dependet a prima causa, sic contra rerum ordinem Deus facere non potest. Si enim sic faceret, faceret contra suam præscientiam aut voluntatem aut bonitatem. Si vero consideretur rerum ordo, prout dependet a qualibet secundarum causarum, sic Deus potest facere præter ordinem rerum; quia ordini secundarum causarum ipse non est subjectus; sed talis ordo ei subjicitur, quasi ab eo procedens, non per necessitatem naturæ sed per arbitrium voluntatis; potuisset enim et alium ordinem rerum instituere.”—P. 22.*

“It is with these wonders which have been, exactly as it will be with those wonders which we look for in regard of our own mortal bodies, and this physical universe. We do not speak of these changes which are in store for this and those, as violations of law. We should not speak of the resurrection of the body as something contrary to nature, as unnatural; yet no power now working in the world could bring it about; it must be wrought by some power not yet displayed, which God has kept in reserve. So, too, the great change which is in store for the outward world, and out of which it shall issue as a new heaven and a new earth, far exceeds any energies now working in the world, to bring it to pass, (however there may be pre-dispositions for it now, starting points from which it will proceed); yet it so belongs to the true idea of the world, now so imperfectly realized, that when it does take place, it will be felt to be the truest nature, which only then at length shall have come perfectly to the birth.”—P. 23.

The next chapter is devoted to the Authority of the Miracle, or in other words the force it has to establish truth. For a large part of our popular theology, miracles in the most outward view, as mere p.ternatural facts or wonder-works, are taken to be at once and by themselves the proof of divine revelation. This view Professor Trench rightly rejects. There are wonder-works also in the power of Satan, caricatures of the holiest, employed

to uphold and advance the cause of sin; for it is plain, that the Scriptures mean to attribute *real* wonders to his agency. These indeed are not miracles in the highest sense of the word; they are abrupt, isolated phenomena, in no union with the organic whole of the world's life; "not the highest harmonies, but the deepest discords, of the universe." But this only goes to show, that the true and proper authority of miracles is not in their mere form outwardly considered, and that they have no power in such view accordingly to accredit truth. To make them valid for this purpose, something more must enter into their constitution. They must themselves be authenticated as genuine heavenly miracles, by carrying in them proper spiritual contents, and by being surrounded with proper spiritual connections and relations. They are of force, not abstractly and on the outside of the revelation or mission they are employed to prove, but concretely and in living union with this, as part and parcel of the whole.

"A miracle does not prove the truth of a doctrine, or the divine mission of him that brings it to pass. That which alone it claims for him at the first is a right to be listened to; it puts him in the alternative of being from heaven or from hell. The doctrine must first commend itself to the conscience as being *good*, and only then can the miracle seal it as *divine*. But the first appeal is from the doctrine to the conscience, to the moral nature in man. For all revelation pre-supposes in man a power of recognizing the truth when it is shown him,—that it will find an answer in him,—that he will trace in it the lineaments of a friend, though of a friend from whom he has been long estranged and whom he has well nigh forgotten. The denial of this, that there is in man any organ by which truth may be recognized, opens the door to the most boundless skepticism, is indeed the denial of all that is godlike in man. But 'he that is of God, heareth God's word,' and knows it for that which it proclaims itself to be.

"It may be objected, indeed, If this be so, if there be this inward witness of the truth, what need then of the miracle? to what does it serve, when the truth has accredited itself already? It has, indeed, accredited itself as good, as *from* God in the sense that all which is good and true is from him, as whatever was precious in the teaching even of heathen sage or poet was from him;—but not yet as a new word directly from him—a new speaking on his part to man. The miracles are to be the credentials for the bearer of that good word, signs that he has a special mission for the realization of the purposes of God in regard of humanity. When the truth has found a receptive heart, has awoken deep echoes in the innermost soul of man, he who brings it may thus show that he

stands yet nearer to God than others, that he is to be heard not merely as one that is true, but as himself the Truth, (see Matt. xi. 4, 5; John v. 36); or if not this, as an immediate messenger standing in direct connection with him who is the Truth, (1 Kings xiii. 3); claiming unreserved submission, and the reception, upon his authority, of other statements which transcend the mind of man,—mysteries which though, of course, not *against* that measure and standard of truth which God has given unto every man, yet cannot be weighed or measured by it.”—*P. 27, 28.*

“The purpose of the miracle being, as we have seen, to confirm that which is good,—where the mind and conscience witness against the doctrine, not all the miracles in the world have a right to demand submission to the word which they seal. On the contrary, the great act of faith is to believe, in the face, and in despite, of them all, in what God has revealed to, and implanted in, the soul, of the holy and the true; not to believe another Gospel, though an angel from heaven, or one transformed into such should bring it, (Deut. xiii. 3; Gal. i. 8); and instead of compelling assent, miracles are then rather warnings to us that we keep aloof, for they tell us that not merely lies are here, for to that the conscience bore witness already, but that he who utters them is more than a common deceiver, is eminently “a liar and an antichrist,” a false prophet,—standing in more immediate connection than other deceived and evil men to the kingdom of darkness, so that Satan has given him his power, (Rev. xiii. 2,) is using him to be a special organ of his, and to do a signal work for him.”—*P. 29.*

All this we take to be sound and important doctrine; though it goes entirely against the thinking of many, who affect to be the greatest friends of orthodoxy. They will have it, that miracles prove the divine authority of the Bible in a purely outward way. The business of reason then is to try the truth of this external seal, to be satisfied that miracles have actually taken place, and on the strength of this proof accept the Bible as God’s word, raising no question afterwards in regard to the character of its contents. To make the character of the contents part of the proof for the truth of the miracles themselves, they take to be a rationalistic reversal of the proper order of faith, and an appeal from the voice of God to the judgment of man. The truth is however, that the proper order of faith is overthrown just by the opposite course, that which seeks to *interpose* the miracle as an outward proof between God’s word and the soul—as though the first were something more near to man’s inmost life, and more sure for him, than the last. Miracles, in their right form, belong to the truth, go along with its revelation in

the world; but they are not themselves the primary substance of truth; they flow from it rather in the way of effect and shadow, and can be of no force whatever save as they appear under such secondary and peripheral relation. Their force to prove a divine revelation lies in their connection with the revelation itself, in their concrete growth out of it, and not in their *abstract* value, as tokens of a higher presence, confronting us on the outside of the door by which we are afterwards to be admitted to the hearing of the oracles within. The oracle is as much necessary to make good the truth of the miracle, as the miracle to make good the truth of the oracle. This is no vicious circle; but the common law only, which in every concrete manifestation requires the parts to be taken as reciprocally complementary in the constitution of the whole. So body and soul authenticate each other in the common life of man. The body *proves* the presence of the soul, only as the soul at the same time proves that the body itself is no corpse but a true living human frame. And just in the same way, we affirm, the word of God coming among men by new and extraordinary revelation must authenticate itself by outward proofs and seals; it lies in the very conception of such a revelation, that it should not touch the world in a naked and abstract way, but that it should come into it with appropriate surroundings and effects, reaching forth fully in the form of miracles into the outward sphere of nature itself; and the absence of such outflowing argument and evidence of a higher presence, (as in the case of the pretended revelations of Mohammed and Swedenborg,) may well be taken as a reason for withholding faith in any mission that claims to be from God, however much it may appear to deserve consideration on other grounds. Miracles are the *necessary* seal of a divine mission; even as the bursting leaves of the forest are necessary to prove the presence of the life, that is at work in the roots and trunks of the trees of which it consists. But still, as the leaves prove this only by being actually the product of the trees, and not a show of foliage simply dropped from the clouds, so also the word, thus rightly attended with such proof, must itself stand under the miracles, and in the midst of them, as the only sure and sufficient guaranty that they are in fact what they claim to be, and not a mere delusion. The word proves the reality of the miracles, and certifies them to be from heaven, (not from hell;) so that they become in turn fairly of force again, to authenticate and establish the word.

Take, for instance, the revelation which completes all truth besides, that which challenges the faith of the world in the per-

son of Jesus Christ; who is the truth itself, the light of the world, the inmost sense of the Divine Mind, the Word made flesh. It could not come to pass, without being attended with the proof of miracles. The works of Christ in such form belong to his life, and could not be wanting to it, without bringing his whole mission into discredit. They serve accordingly to prove the truth of his mission. But this only, let it be well borne in mind, as they are themselves illustrated and accredited by the truth and grace that shine forth from his person; they carry with them such force as they have in fact, only because they go to fill out in a becoming way the picture, of which he is the central figure. Their sense and significance hold in their relation to his august presence, as that by which they are conditioned and from which they proceed. In this view, Jesus Christ authenticates himself, and all evidence besides which goes to establish his truth; not in a naked isolated way, of course, and independently altogether of such evidence; but along with it, and in the midst of it, as the natural and necessary fruit of his presence, the true and proper form of its manifestation; and under such relation to it thus, at the same time, that the precedence and priority of proof must be taken to be in himself, and not in anything beyond. Christ is the central truth, and whatever is true besides becomes so only by its relation to him in this character. How then should he be authenticated, or proved true, by any evidence or argument wholly external to his own person? How should faith find a preliminary warrant to receive and rest upon him as the Son of God, in no connection with his own life? Can truth be more true or sure under any *other* form, that this should serve so as a logical ground, from which to start, or on which to build, in order to reach Him in whom dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily? Every conception of that sort must be set down as indeed rationalistic in the worst sense. Christ himself is the centre of the whole christian revelation, the fountain of its entire glory. Every part of it does indeed shed light on his character; as the whole world also, rightly understood, bears witness to him, and lays its homage of acknowledgment at his feet; but all this is in consequence of the light which goes forth from him in the first place, as the true sun of the world, irradiating and filling with divine sense the whole order which belongs to it in every other view.

"You complain," says Dr. Arnold, in a letter to Dr. Hawkins, "of those persons who judge of a revelation not by its evidence, but by its substance. It has always seemed to me,

that its substance is a most essential part of its evidence; and that miracles wrought in favor of what was foolish or wicked, would only prove Manicheism. We are so perfectly ignorant of the unseen world, that the character of any supernatural power can only be judged by the moral character of the statements which it sanctions. Thus only can we tell whether it be a revelation from God or from the Devil."

It is a beautiful and deeply significant remark of Gerhard, quoted by Trench: "*Miracula sunt doctrinæ tesserae ac sigilla; quemadmodum igitur sigillum a literis avulsum nihil probat, ita quoque miracula sine doctrina nihil valent.*"

The relation between miracle and doctrine being of this sort, it must be taken as a most serious and dangerous omission on the part of many, who in modern times have written so-called "Evidences of Christianity," that they have brought it so little into view; that the moral nature of the proof has been so much overlooked; the maxim being forgotten, that the doctrine is to try the miracle, as well as the miracle to seal the doctrine; and the works of Christ outwardly considered, and mainly as acts of power, being made the exclusive argument for the reception of what he taught as a divine revelation. "If men are taught that they should believe in Christ upon no other grounds than because he attested his claims by works of wonder, and that simply on this score they shall do so, how shall they consistently refuse belief to any other, who shall come attesting his claims by the same? We have here a paving of the way of Anti-christ; for as we know that he will have his signs and wonders, so, if this argument is good, he will have right on the score of these to claim the faith and allegiance of men. But no; the miracle must witness for itself, and the doctrine must witness for itself, and then the first is capable of witnessing for the second; and those books of Christian evidences are utterly maimed and imperfect, fraught with the most perilous consequences, which reverence in the miracle little else but its power, and see in that alone what gives either to it its attesting worth, or to the doctrine its authority as an adequately attested thing."

The same subject is taken up again by our author, in the closing chapter of his Preliminary Essay, which is devoted particularly to the consideration of the "Apologetic Worth of Miracles," or the place they should occupy in the argument for Revealed Religion. It is a curious fact, that far less stress was laid upon them in the early Apologies, for this purpose, than what they have been made to bear in modern times. With the system of thinking which reigned in the beginning both among the Gen-

tiles and the Jews, the acknowledgment of the truth of the Christian miracles was not of itself enough to shut men up to the acknowledgment of its divine origin; they might be referred to Satan, to intermediate deities, to magic; the whole case could be allowed, and still not be felt to carry with it any conclusive force in favor of the new religion. In the *Apologies* of Justin Martyr, the argument from miracles is scarcely employed at all.

"But a different and far more important position has been assigned them in later times, especially during the last two hundred years; and the tone and temper of modern theology abundantly explains the greater prominence, sometimes, I believe, the undue, because the exclusive, prominence, which in this period they have assumed. The apologetic literature of this time partook, as was inevitable, in the general depression of all its theology. There is no one, I think, who would now be satisfied with the general tone and spirit in which the defence of the faith, written during the last two centuries, and beginning with the memorable work of Grotius, (*De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*,) are composed. Much as this and many others contain of admirable matter, yet in well nigh all that great truth of the Italian poet seems to have been forgotten:

‘They struggle vainly to preserve a part,
Who have not courage to contend for all.’

These apologists, on the contrary, would seem very often to have thought that Deism was best to be resisted, by reducing Christianity to a sort of revealed Deism. Like men that had renounced the hope of defending all, their whole endeavor was to save something, and when their pursuers pressed them hard, they were willing to delay the pursuit, by casting to them as a prey much that ought to have been the dearest to themselves. —Now this, which caused so much to be thrown great y out of sight, as generally the mysteries of our faith, which brought about a slight of the inner arguments for revelation, caused that from the miracles to assume a disproportionate magnitude. A value too exclusive was set on them; they were rent away from the truths for which they witnessed, and which witnessed for them—only too much like seals torn off from the document, which at once *they* rendered valid, and which gave importance to them. And thus, in this unnatural isolation, separated from Christ’s person and doctrine, the whole burden of proof was laid on them. *They* were the apology for Christianity, the reason which men were taught they should give for the faith which was in them.”—P. 76.

The object in all this was to get an absolute demonstration of

the Christian faith—one which objectively should be equally good for every man; like the proof that exists for a proposition in mathematics or in logic. There was something however not altogether healthy in the state of mind which led to such wish; it is the mark of an outward and merely historical faith, to be thus set on evidence of an outward sort, and to find in it the highest value. The idea of coming to a certain and full assurance of the truth here in question on grounds external to the truth itself, was itself rationalistic, and carried in it a measure of treason to the revelation whose credit it pretended in such style to fortify and uphold. The outward is indeed of high account in this argument; but only as it is taken in connection with the inward, as the primary and fundamental interest. Miracles are all important as a part of the proof for Christianity, in their right order and proper place; the fault now noticed lies in making them to be the whole proof, or at least the main proof, and this in a purely outward view—as though it were possible for men to be certified of a revelation by means of such preliminary and ab-extra evidence, aside altogether from the revelation itself, and independently of its own inward character and form.

“When we object to the use that has often been made of these works, it is only because they have been forcibly severed from the whole complex of Christ’s life and doctrine, and presented to the contemplation of men apart from these; it is only because, when on his head who is the Word of God are many crowns, (Rev. xxix. 12,) one only has been singled out, in proof that he is King of kings and Lord of lords. The miracles have been spoken of as though they borrowed nothing from the truths which they confirmed, but those truths everything from them; when indeed the true relation is one of mutual interdependence, the miracles proving the doctrines, and the doctrines approving the miracles, and both held together for us in a blessed unity, in the person of him who spake the words and did the works, and through the impress of highest holiness and of absolute truth and goodness, which that person leaves stamped on our souls;—so that it may be more truly said that *we believe the miracles for Christ’s sake*, than Christ for the miracles’ sake. Neither when we thus affirm that the miracles prove the doctrine, and the doctrine the miracles, are we arguing in a circle; rather we are receiving the sum total of the impression, which this divine revelation is intended to make on us, instead of taking an impression only partial and one-sided.”—P. 81.

This deep thought it is substantially which St. Augustine has in his mind, when he says against the Donatists, and their claims

to miraculous works: "Miracles are authenticated and made credible by being done in the Church Catholic, and not the Catholic Church by having in it the miracles." The less can never prove the greater, as something on the outside of it and apart from it wholly, but only as itself bound to it and joined with it in such subordinate relation.

J. W. N.

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF ST. JOHN.

§. 1. *Youth and Education of John.*

The Apostle and Evangelist *John*, the son of Zebedee, a fisherman of Galilee, and of Salome, the brother of the elder James, was born, as is most probable, like the Apostles Peter, Andrew, and Philip, in Bethsaida (Matth. 4: 21; 10: 2, Mark 1: 19; 3: 17; 10: 35, Luke 5: 10, Acts 12: 2). His parents, though not rich, seem to have been at least in good circumstances. His father, according to Mark 1: 20, was in the habit of employing hired servants; his mother belonged to that class of women who supported Jesus with their property (Matth. 27: 56, Mark 15: 40, Luke 8: 3) and purchased spices for his embalming (Mark 16: 1, Luke 23: 50, 56); John himself owned a house in Jerusalem into which he welcomed the mother of Jesus after his crucifixion (John 19: 27). It is natural and reasonable to suppose that his pious mother planted the first seeds of piety in the tender soil of his youthful heart. Salome, it is true, was yet entangled in the false hopes of the Messiah generally prevalent in her time and in the incitements of vanity, as may be gathered from her petition to the Lord that He would grant her two sons the highest places of honor in His kingdom (Matth. 20: 20, ff.), but she adhered to Christ with unwavering fidelity and did not desert Him even when surrounded with the terrors of the Cross (Mark 15: 40).¹ With the other Apostles, Paul ex-

¹ According to the latest exegesis of John 19: 25, which Wieseler has proposed and advocated with acuteness and learning in the "Studien und Kritiken," 1840, No. 3, p. 648, &c., Salome would be the sister of the mother of Jesus; in such case John would have been a cousin of the Lord. The phrase "sister of his mother" he does not interpret to be, as has hitherto been supposed, Mary, the wife of Cleopas (on account of the improbability that two sisters would have the same name,) but a form of language,

cepted, John received no learned or scientific education (comp. Acts 4: 13). His personal intercourse of three years' duration with the Master of all masters and the supernatural illumination of the Holy Spirit, abundantly supplied every deficiency in his mental training. In early life, no doubt, he was carefully indocinated in the precepts of the Old Testament which ministered to his natural tendency for profound thought, and to his tender, susceptible disposition, a nourishment vastly superior to the learning of the Pharisaic schools, filled, as it was, with many maxims of the most dangerous character.

In early life he became a disciple of John the Baptist. Of the two disciples of John spoken of in John 1: 35, &c., he is beyond all doubt the one not mentioned. His susceptible disposition which anxiously awaited the hope of Israel must have recognised in no long time a divine messenger in the earnest preacher of repentance who prepared the way for Christ and preceded his coming, like the faint streak of morning before the full-orbed sun. Through the instrumentality of this herald he was directed, together with Andrew, on the banks of the Jordan in Perea, to Jesus as the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world. His first acquaintance with the Saviour was accompanied with circumstances so impressive in character that he never forgot it and, even in his old age, still remembered the hour of meeting (John 1: 40). Having passed a day in intercourse with the Son of God and listened to the words that fell from his lips, he returned with Peter and Andrew to his home and trade as a fisherman. In this quiet retreat, opportunity was given for the free and uninterrupted growth of the good seed which had been implanted in his heart. His life in this respect furnishes a conspicuous illustration of the manner which Christ pursued, who never violently checks the pure natural disposition of men and nullifies their education prior to conversion, in attracting to his person followers from among the members of the human family. In no long time, however, John together with James, Peter and Andrew were summoned by Jesus to abandon their trade and enlist under his banner (Matth. 4: 18, &c., Mk.

similar to the one which John used to indicate himself ("The disciple, whom Jesus loved") designed to represent his own mother Salome who, as may be gathered from the parallel passages Matth. 27: 56, Mark 15: 40, was really present at the crucifixion and could not well have been passed by in silence by her son. Serious objections, however, stand in the way of this explanation. Comp. *Neander's Train. and Plant. of the Church*, II. 609, my work on James, etc., p. 22, &c., and the article on John by *W. Grimm* in the *Encyclopedia of Ersh. and Gruber*, Sect. II. Th. 22, p. 1, &c.

1: 16, &c., Luke 4: 1-11). He is thus the representative of those disciples who are gradually brought into fellowship with the Saviour by the quiet operation of holy influences, unaccompanied by violent internal struggles and unusual outward changes, whilst the Apostle Paul exhibits the most prominent example of a sudden conversion. The first mode of conversion is specially adapted to persons of a mild, tender, and contemplative disposition, such as Thomas a Kempis, Melancthon, Spener, Bengel, Zinzendorf; the second, to persons of strong, independent, and choleric character, such as Augustine, Luther, and Calvin.

John, whose disposition qualified him for the forming of lasting friendship and the exercise of undying love, became one of the most confidential of Christ's disciples. He, in connection with his brother James, and Simon Peter, formed a select circle of friends on whom the Son of God looked with special favor. They only were eye-witnesses of the resurrection of the daughter of Jairus (Mark 5: 37), of the transfiguration of Christ on Tabor (Matth. 17: 1), and of his sufferings in Gethsemane (Matth. 26: 37, Mark 14: 33). The reason of this preference lies partly in the free choice of Christ, and partly in the peculiar character of the three Apostles. Of James our knowledge is very limited. He seems to have been of a quiet, earnest, profound nature, and died in the year 44 the death of a martyr, and thus became the leader of that glorious band of heroes who sealed their devotion to Christianity by their blood. As regards position and influence, to some extent at least, Paul became his substitute. Peter is best known as a man whose rash, impetuous, and practical disposition admirably qualified him to organize congregations and lay the foundations of the Church deep and strong in the prolific soil of his own confession. John cannot compare with Peter in point of practical energy and zeal; in the depths of his being, however, burned more brightly and warmly the fire of holy love. The invincible tenacity of his love which gave to his religious feeling a marked originality, placed him in a position superior to that occupied by his two associates, and made him most conspicuous among the trio of the friends of the Son of God and Man. He enjoyed the great privilege of leaning on the bosom of Jesus' and listening to the

¹ On which account he is called by the Greek Church fathers *ὁ ἐπιστήθιος*, he who leaned on his bosom, or, as we say, the bosom friend of Jesus. Augustine makes the following beautiful remarks concerning John the Evangelist. "He poured forth the waters of life which he had himself drunk."

pulsations of the heart that beat high and warm with feelings of eternal mercy (John 13: 23). In modest self-concealment and, at the same time, with feelings of the profoundest gratitude, he generally calls himself in his Gospel "the disciple whom Jesus loved" (13: 23, 19: 26, 20: 21: 7, 20). This phrase is in all probability, a significant paraphrase and explanation of his proper name, in which he saw a prophecy of this perfect friendship, of his enjoyment of the special favor of Christ, the incarnate Jehovah (comp. John 12: 41 with Isaiah 6: 1).

In the hour of his sufferings John evinced his attachment to the Lord and followed him with Peter into the palace of the high priest (John 18: 19). He was the only one of the disciples who attended the crucifixion when Jesus committed to his care his mother because he was best qualified for the exercise of filial duties (19: 26). He took her to his home (v. 27), and kept her according to traditional report to the day of her death, which, according to Nicephorus, happened at Jerusalem in the year 48, (according to other accounts at Ephesus). On the day of the resurrection he hastened in company with Peter, to the grave and found it empty (20: 3, &c.). The last account we have of him in the Gospels is, that he was engaged in fishing with six other disciples in the sea of Gennesareth. Their efforts were unsuccessful until Jesus himself came to their aid. Most remarkable is the difference that obtained in the conduct of John and Peter on this occasion. The former immediately recognized the Lord with an intuitive gaze of love, but sat still in the ship because fully conscious of a saving interest in His master and completely absorbed in Him; the latter whose knowledge of having denied Him and earnest desire for full pardon excited strong feelings of restlessness, (and being desirous of preceding the others,) plunged into the waves and swam to the shore to the feet of Jesus, (John 21: 2, &c.). Thus also the contemplative Mary quietly awaited in the house the coming of the Lord, whilst the busy Martha went to meet him and make him acquainted with her grief (11: 20).

§. 2. *His Apostolic Labors.*

Though John did not, like Peter, on account of the intense

For it is not without reason that it is said of him in his own Gospel that during the Supper he lay on the bosom of the Lord. From this bosom he quietly drank, and what he thus enjoyed in secret, he has revealed unto the world for its delight and nourishment."

inwardness of his character, take such active part in public transactions, and never played the orator but followed in his steps wholly absorbed in the contemplation of heavenly truth, yet, in the Acts he appears next to Peter as the most important personage in the first, Jewish-Christian period of the Church. With Peter he healed the lame man, (Acts 3 : 1, &c.) ; with him he was sent to Samaria, in order to confirm by the communication of the Holy Ghost (8 : 14, &c.) the Christians who had been baptized by the deacon Philip. From Samaria he returned to Jerusalem, where he met Paul in the year 50; who, together with the oldest Apostles, discussed the binding authority of the Mosaic Law. He designates him and James and Peter as Jewish Apostles, and as pillars of the Church (Gal. 2 : 1-9). Down to this time, John seems to have confined his labors to the Jews and to Palestine. Even then, however, he was in possession of a principle strong enough to reconcile the distinctions that held apart the Jewish and Gentile portions of the Church. For it cannot be proven that the Jews appealed to him as an authority, as the followers of Cephas to Peter (1 Cor. 1 : 12,) and the yet more strict party to James (Gal. 2 : 12), or that a school was formed that acknowledged John as its leader. He stood above mere partizan interest. When Paul came for the last time to Jerusalem, A. D. 58, he was not present ; otherwise Luke would have certainly recorded it (Acts 21 : 18). For accounts of the closing portions of his life, we must have recourse to his own writings and to ecclesiastical tradition.

At a later period John took up his permanent abode in the distinguished commercial city of Ephesus, in which had been planted by Paul one of his most important congregations. The concordant and unanimous testimony of Christian antiquity places this fact beyond all doubt ;¹ from the book of Revelation (1 : 11, c. 2 and 3), it is evident that he had the superintendence of the Churches in Asia Minor. From the data now known, historians are not able to deduce the precise time of the transfer of his labors to Grecian soil. It is certain, however, that he went to Ephesus if not after, at any rate, not long before the

¹ Among the vouchers for this are *Irenaeus*, the pupil of Polycarp who knew John personally, *adv. haer.* III. 1, 3, and other passages, also in the letter to Florinus in Eusebius, H. E. V, 20, *Clemens Alex.* in the homily *quis dives salvetur* c. 42., *Apollonius* and *Polycrates* of Ephesus at the close of the second century, in Eusebius, V. 18. 24 and III, 31., *Origen* and *Eusebius*, &c. In the face of such testimony, it required the obtuse scepticism of the Deist *Lützelberger* to pronounce the residence of John at Ephesus a fable.

death of Paul. For, neither in the farewell address which Paul delivered at Miletum to the elders of the church at Ephesus, nor in the Epistles written during confinement to the Ephesians and Colossians, nor in the second epistle to Timothy, is any mention made of John; Paul still regarded himself then as the overseer of the congregations in Asia Minor. In all probability, the death of the Gentile Apostle, A. D. 64, and the dangers and convulsions consequent upon it which he himself had anticipated (Acts 20 : 29, 30), induced John to visit this important city, to take the place of Paul, and to build upon the foundation which he had laid. The place of his residence in the interim (between 50 and 60) cannot be discovered.¹

As the energetic activity that prevailed in the second century which bears upon it the impress of John's influence, fully testifies, Asia Minor was selected as the main theatre for the action of the second period in the history of the Church. Here were gathered all the elements necessary to bring about a thorough purification of ecclesiastical life, the germs of the two fundamental heresies which the Church was called upon to vanquish. On the one hand a Pharisaico-Jewish spirit labored to impose afresh the slavery of the law, as is evident particularly in the Galatian congregations; on the other, there was forming a false gnosis, a speculative tendency composed of Jewish and Pagan elements whose workings arbitrarily overleaped the wholesome bounds of sound thought which is vigorously and successfully opposed in the epistles to Timothy, the Colossians, and in the second epistle of Peter and Jude. At a later period the Gnostic Cerinthus, who was a contemporary of John, gave to this speculative tendency a more sharply defined form. Danger was not only to be apprehended, however, from heretics. Believers both among the Jews and Gentiles were not yet united in the bonds of a consistent, permanent unity, while the former were still disposed to look with suspicious eye on the liberal views entertained by Paul touching the Law. In order to pacify narrow minded Israelites, Peter thought it necessary to set forth in clear light for the benefit of those sections of the Church his substantial agreement with Paul in the faith. John was admirably qualified in this critical posture of affairs to check the pernicious action of

¹ The later report that he preached to the Parthians originated from an inscription on some Latin MSS. on the first Epist of John "ad Parthos," and this inscription from a misunderstanding of the predicate *παρσις*, which name John obtained on account of his celibacy. Comp. Lücke commen. on the first Ep. John, 2nd Ed. p. 28, &c.

such unscriptural tendencies, and not only to overcome them negatively, but positively also, by recognizing and putting in proper relations the wants and truths of which they were perversions. As a native of Palestine and one who had been an Israelite he enjoyed the confidence of Jewish Christians, while the facility with which he entered into the truth involved in modes of thought foreign to his own, and the susceptibility of his disposition, enabled him to appropriate with ease the Grecian element and adopt the principles of Paul. Inasmuch as he reconciled in his own person these two primary forms of Apostolic Christianity, so far as they were correct, and exhibited the different sides of one and the same truth, he was fitted to bind up the entire Church of Asia Minor in that compact, well-fortified unity, which was absolutely necessary for a defence in conflict with internal foes, as well as in suffering under the bloody hand of persecution.

§. 3. *Persecution of Christians under Domitian and the Expulsion of John to Patmos.*

He was interrupted in the midst of his efficient labors, the monuments of which are scattered in rich profusion through his Gospel and Epistles, by the persecution of the Christians in the reign of Domitian. His banishment, however, in no wise seriously checked the progress of our holy religion. With prophetic vision, he unfolded the future history of the Church, and contributed in this way to her welfare and edification.

Domitian succeeded his brother Titus, A. D. 81, and reigned to the time of his assassination 96. The happy beginnings of his rule were soon disturbed by an unbounded tyranny, which led to execution or banishment the best and most respectable of his subjects, who became the victims of his murderous suspicions by venturing to check his insatiate ambition. So great was his vanity, that he gloried in the deification of himself, and may fairly be charged with the crime of unlimited blasphemy. If we except Caligula, he was the first of Roman emperors presumptuous enough to arrogate to himself the name of God; he began his letters with the words "Our Lord and God commands;"¹ nay, he thought himself superior to the gods, caused

¹ *Sueton Domit. c. 13.* "Dominus et Deus noster hoc fieri jubet." Unde institutum posthac, ut ne scripto quidem ac sermone cujusquam appellaretur aliter.

his statue to be erected in the most sacred place of the temple, and whole herds of sacrificial animals to be offered to his divinity.¹ A man of such character would very naturally regard an open confession of Christ as an offence against the crown, worthy of the severest punishment. In his time, many Christians and amongst them his own cousin, the Consul Flavius Clemens,² died the martyr's death; urged by unfounded suspicions, and fears of attempts to displace him from the throne, he effected the murder of the remaining descendants of David, and even had two relations of Jesus brought from Palestine to Rome for examination, whose poverty and obscurity soon convinced him of the vanity of his fears.³

Tradition affirms that, during the reign of this emperor, the Apostle John was banished to the lonely, barren island of Patmos, (now Patino or Palmosa), in the Ægean sea, not far from the coast of Asia, and in a southwestern direction from Ephesus. Here it was that he received the Revelation, concerning the conflicts and victories of the Church.⁴ To the fact of his having enjoyed a vision while in exile on this island he himself testifies in Rev. 1: 9: "I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ." To the fact of this

¹ Pliny, Panegy. c. 52, cf. 33.

² According to *Dio Cassius*, he with many others was accused of atheism, which was used without doubt to designate the christian faith. See the passages given by Gieseler C. H. I. 1. p. 135.

³ According to *Hegesippus* in Euseb. H. E. III 19 20. According to *Tertullian* de præscr. hæ. c. 36 John was brought to Rome (the emperor's name is not mentioned), plunged into a barrel of burning oil, and, having sustained no injury, was banished to Patmos (ubi, namely at Rome, apost. Joh. posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur). As this species of punishment is in itself very improbable and as it is only once more mentioned, namely by Jerome, who bases his remark on the authority of Tertullian, we are perfectly justified in remanding it back into the region either of invented or exaggerated legends.

⁴ To this day travellers are pointed to the cavern at the harbor of de la Scala, in which the beloved Apostle received in rapt vision, on the Lord's day, an insight into the future weal of the Church. Tischendorf (travels in the East II. p. 257, &c.,) describes the island in the following terms: "Speechless lay before me, in the light of the dawn of morn, the small island; several olive trees enlivened the dreary desert of the mountain on it. The sea was silent as the grave, Patmos reposed in it like a dead saint. . . . John—this is the thought of the island. It belongs to him, it is his sanctuary. The stones on it preach of him, and every heart cleaves to him."

vision having occurred in the time of Domitian Christian antiquity bears almost unanimous witness. Nor does the proper meaning of the book in any wise conflict with this hypothesis. Irenæus, the oldest witness, who deserves special attention because of his intimate relations with Polycarp the personal friend of John, says expressly and with great assurance that John enjoyed the visions recorded in the Apocalypse not long before, and almost in his time, namely, towards the close of the reign of the emperor Domitian.⁶ With him coincides Eusebius, who, in several passages in his Church History, based upon the testimony of tradition, places the banishment of the Apostle in the reign of Domitian and, according to his chronology, in the 14th year of it (that is, in the year 95), his return to Ephesus in the reign of Nerva.⁶ So also Jerome⁷ and others. Two other witnesses, Clemens of Alex. and Origen, who in the order of time come directly after Irenæus, mention indeed the name of the emperor, but designate him, the former as "Tyrant,"⁸ the latter as "King of the Romans."⁹ Both titles, however, suit the character of Domitian full as well as that of Nero. The appellation of "tyrant" expresses more clearly, perhaps, the nature of Domitian, who of all Roman emperors was the most

⁶ Adv. hæ. V, 30: οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐωράθη (ἡ ἀποκάλυψις), ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς. The fanciful opinion of Guericke who, in order to harmonise this passage with his present view touching the composition of the Apocalypse (at an earlier period he advocated the correct view in his "contrib. to New Test." p. 55 and in the "continuation" of it p. 20), wishes, in opposition to the rules of languages to regard Δομετιανὸς as an adjective and to apply it to Domitius Nero, is utterly untenable because of what immediately precedes which by no means accords with the thirty years distant from the time of Nero. The omission of the article proves nothing against the word taken as a substantive; because Eusebius who by it understands Domitian, also omits the article; H. E. III, 23. μετὰ τὴν Δομετιανοῦ τελευτὴν; so also Philostratus, Vita Apoll. VII, 4. τῆς Δομετιανοῦ φορᾶς.

⁶ H. E. III, 18. "In his reign (Domitian) it is said in accordance with tradition that the Apostle and Evangelist John, who then flourished, was condemned to the island of Patmos because of his testimony in behalf of the divine word;" further III, 20, 23, and Chron. ad ann. 14 Domitian.

⁷ De viris illustr. c. 9: Johannes quarto decimo anno secundam post Neronem persecutionem movente Domitiano in Patmos insulam relegatus scripsit Apocalypsim.

⁸ Quis dives salv. c. 42 and by Euseb. H. E. III, 23: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετέλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἐφέσον.

⁹ Orig. ad Matth. 20: 23, 23, Opp. Ed. de la Rue III, 720. Comp. on this witness the remarks in the first volume of Hengstenberg's Commentary on Revelation p. 4, &c., who ably and thoroughly defends the view of its composition in the time of Domitian against modern criticism.

arbitrary despot. Tacitus says, "that he exhibited his cruel ferocity not only at intervals, and on select occasions, but labored systematically to destroy at one fell swoop the general prosperity."¹ Eusebius also applied to him the passage of Clemens. The uncritical and frivolous Epiphanius first proposed a different opinion, by putting the banishment of the Apostle into the reign of Claudius. His view, however, is utterly untenable and was universally rejected.² In our day the authority of Ewald, Lücke and Neander, has given almost general prevalence to the opinion, that the Apocalypse (which the last mentioned does not consider as a production of the Apostle but of the Ephesian Presbyter John), was composed soon after the death of Nero, in the time of Galba, A. D. 68 or 69. The only witness in this case who deserves respect, is the Syrian translator of this book³ who in no wise confirms his opinion by tradition, but seems to have derived it from his view of its contents. At any rate, as respects authority he cannot be compared with the elder Irenaeus. The view of these modern interpreters rests confessedly for support on *internal* grounds. It is believed that in the book itself are to be found clear evidences that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem (c. 11), whilst the persecution by Nero and the burning of Rome were fresh in the mind, during the reign of the sixth Roman Emperor (Galba), and before the generally expected re-appearance of Nero who

¹ Agric. c 44, comp. the representation which *Pliny* gives of this "immanissima bellua" panegy. c 48.

² We cannot therefore allow Dr. Lücke the right of speaking about "a fluctuating of the ecclesiastical tradition touching the time of exile and the writing of the Apoc. (see his attempt at a thorough introduction to the Revelation of John," p. 409). Tradition, so far as it has an historical character, delivers unanimous testimony. Variations from it consist of isolated subjective opinions which are mutually contradictory.

³ Namely, in the writing: *Revelatio, quam Deus Joanni Evangelistae in Patmo insula dedit, in quam a Nerone Caesare relegatus fuerat*. The Syriac translation, however, of the Apoc. is not found in the original Peschito and belongs to the *hiloxeniana*, or their revision by *Thomas*; it dates therefore from the 7th century, according to the account of a Florentinian MS. from the year 622 (comp. Hug's introd. in N. T., I p. 353 &c., and De Wette's, §11, a.), and its isolated account concerning the composition of the Apoc. has for this reason no critical value. Touching this point *Theophylact* of the 12th century deserves still less attention, because he evidently confounds two things entirely distinct in character, supposing (comment. on Ev. Joh. Int.) the *Gospel* of John to have been composed on the island of Patmos 32 years after the ascension of Christ, in the time of Nero whom he does not mention—an opinion universally rejected. Hence it may be inferred with what reason *Guericke* (Int. p. 285) should in this connection speak of the "critical and discerning" *Theophylact*.

seems to be denoted by the number 666 in the character of Antichrist (c. 17). But these *internal* reasons cannot possibly lead to a decisive judgment, because the interpretation of this mysterious book in general, and of those separate parts in particular, has always induced a strife of discordant opinions.¹ Besides, the persecution under Nero, which did not happen in the year 67, as computed by the erroneous chronology of Eusebius, but, according to the distinct testimony of Tacitus, in the year 64, continued but for a short time, and was, in all probability, on account of its occasion, namely a false charge upon the christians of having set fire to Rome, confined to Rome. At any rate down to the time of Orosius, who, however, deserves little attention because of his slavish adherence to Suetonius, we have no historical testimony to prove its extension to the provinces and to Asia Minor. Finally, we know not whether Nero punished christians with exile; whilst Dio Cassius narrates in express language, that Domitian banished to Pandateria because of her atheism, that is, her faith in the christian system, his relative Flavia Domitilla, the wife of the above mentioned Clemens (according to Eusebius, she was his niece).²

In this conflict of opinions, we feel disposed to adopt the oldest and most generally received view concerning the time of John's banishment, and the composition of the book of Revelation, because Irenaeus had abundant opportunity to learn the truth in the case from the friend and pupil of John. Criticism only injures its character and detracts from its influence, when it stubbornly opposes the clear testimony of history, especially in the interpretation of a writing whose mysterious meaning imposes the duty of modesty and caution.

§. 4. *The Return of John to Ephesus and the Close of His Life.*

In the year 96, when this tyrant died, the Apostle, after having passed, as is most probable, more than a year in exile, again obtained his freedom. The successor of Domitian, the just and

¹ Comp. Dr. Chr. R. Hofman's *Prophecy and Fulfillment* (1841) II, p. 301, and in detail the commentary of Hengstenberg and the introduction p. 27, &c.

² Dio. B. 67, 14, Comp. 68, 1, and Euseb. H. E, III, 18. Banishment was a common punishment with Domitian. Tacitus thinks Agricola happy in not having survived under the emperors *tot consularium cædes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas*, (vita Agr. c. 44).

philanthropic Nerva, recalled, according to the account given by Dio Cassius, those who had been banished, and abolished the trade of informers and courtly sycophants. John, having returned to Ephesus, recommenced his labors and ruled to the day of his death the Church in Asia.¹ With the closing period of his life are connected two events, which have impressed upon them the unmistakeable marks of truth.²

Clemens of the Alexandrine school, who flourished at the close of the second century, has given an account of one of them. It sets forth in beautiful portrait a picture of the tender, self denying love, that always characterised the pastoral visitations of the venerable Apostle. Clemens narrates³ that John on his return from Patmos to Ephesus, visited the adjacent countries with the intention of installing bishops and organising congregations. In a town at no great distance from Ephesus he met with a young man, whose extraordinary beauty and ardent zeal so engaged his affections, that he committed him to the special care of the bishop, who instructed him in the precepts of the Gospel and received him into the bosom of the Church by holy Baptism. The bishop however, now relaxed his vigilance, and the young man, who was thus early deprived of parental care, was seduced by evil companions and became the leader of a robber band. His wickedness became proverbial; in acts of violence and bloody ferocity his associates acknowledged his superior proficiency. In no long time John again visited that town, and eagerly inquired for the young man. "Come," said he to the Bishop, "give back to us the pledge which I and the Saviour entrusted to your care in presence of the congregation." The bishop sighed and answered: "The young man has fallen away from his allegiance to God and become a robber. Instead of being in the Church he now dwells with his companions within a mountain." With loud cries the Apostle tore his garments, struck his head, and exclaimed: "O what a guardian I

¹ Clemens Alex. and Euseb. III, 20, 23. The somewhat singular remark of Polycrates by Eusebins that John wore the "petalon," the tiara of the high priest, may be referred to his oversight of the Church in Asia Minor.

² Other traits must be remanded to the region of fables, e. g., that John destroyed the celebrated temple of Diana (Nicephorus, H. E. II, 42) and that, shortly before his death, he drank without injury a cup of poison (first in *Augustine's* soliloquies). This last is referred by Papias (Euseb. III, 39) to Josias Barnabas, and may have its foundation in Mark 16: 13 and Matth. 20: 23.

³ Quis dives salv. c. 42, and in Euseb. III, 23. Herder has given this beautiful legend a poetical form under the caption "The rescued Youth."

placed over the soul of my brother!" He hastily mounted a horse, and in company with a guide proceeded to the retreat where dwelt the robber-band. Though seized by the guard, he never attempted to escape, but besought them to conduct him to the leader, who, on recognizing John, fled for shame. The apostle, forgetful of his age, pursued him with might and main, crying: "Wherefore fleest thou me, O child! thy father, an unarmed old man? Pity me, O child! be not afraid! Thou hast still hope of life. I will give account to Christ on your behalf. I will lay down my life for you. Stop! believe, Christ has sent me." These words, like so many swords, pierced the very soul of the unfortunate man. He halted, threw down the weapons of his murderous warfare, trembled, and cried bitterly. The venerable apostle having approached him, the young man clung to his knees, prayed with strong lamentations for pardon, and with tears of repentance submitted as it were to a second baptism. The Apostle declared that he had obtained forgiveness for him, fell upon his knees and kissed his hand. He then led him back to the congregation, in which he prayed earnestly with him, and labored with him in fasting, and admonished him in conversations, until he was able to return him to the Church as an example of thorough conversion.

Jerome, one of the Church fathers, in his interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, makes mention of another incident equally pathetic. In the closing period of his life, John was too weak to walk to the Church, and had to be carried thither. He was not able to deliver long discourses, but simply said: "Little children, love one another." On being asked why he continually repeated this exhortation, he answered: "Because this is the command of the Lord; and because enough is done if this holy duty be performed." A most true saying; for as God is himself love, love to Him and to the brethren is the substance of religion and morality, the fulfilment of the law and of the prophets, and the bond of perfection.

All the ancient accounts agree in affirming, that John lived to the reign of the emperor Trajan, who ascended the throne in the year 98 A. D., and that he died a natural death at Ephesus about the ninetieth year of his age.¹ While the majority of the other Apostles were baptised in the bloody baptism of martyrdom, he

¹ Thus *Irenaeus*, *Eusebius*, *Jerome*, &c. The last mentioned says de vir. ill. c. 9, of John: sub Nerva principe redit Ephesum, ibique usque ad Trajanum principem perseverans totas Asiae fundavit rexitque ecclesias, et confectus senio anno sexagesimo octavo post passionem Domini (i. e. a. 100, VOL. II.—NO. VI.

passed through the sufferings of the primitive Church in the enjoyment of heavenly peace, and calmly breathed his last, reclining on the bosom of love.² From a misunderstanding of the puzzling language of Jesus, John 21: 22: "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" arose the report that John did not really die, but only fell into a state of slumber, and was moving by his breathing the mound over his tomb until the final coming of the Lord.³ In his writings, it is true, he lives eternally, the full understanding of which seems to stand in special connection with the future perfection of the Church, and her preparation for the welcome of the heavenly bridegroom. For they close with the significant assurance and prayer (Rev. 22: 20): "Yea, I come quickly. Amen. Yea, come, Lord Jesus!"

§. 5. The Character of John.

Let us now endeavor to form a proper estimate of the genius and religious character of John, from the testimony of history, and mainly from his own writings. The theoretic and practical abilities which God bestows upon men as a natural dowry, are not destroyed by the action of regenerating faith, but cleansed from the base alloy of sin, sanctified unto the service of Christ, and carried forward to the point of their fullest growth. John undoubtedly belongs to that class of persons, whose native richness abounds in a spirit of nice sensibility and quiet meditation, in feelings of impressive tenderness and lively action, in an imagination of fiery energy and in a disposition of surpassing loveliness. Yet, every order of talent and trait of character is vitiated by a certain species of original sin, which cleaves to it and is

since this Church father places the death of Christ in the year 32) mortuus juxta eandem urbem sepultus est.

¹ When the Ephesian bishop *Polycrates* in Euseb. H. E. III. 31, V, 25 calls John a martyr, reference is had either to his labors in preaching or (because *εὐδόκηλος* immediately follows) to his banishment to Patmos. In order to reconcile the above tradition with the prophecy of the Lord touching the fate of the sons of Zebedee Matth. 20: 23, Jerome ad Matth. 20: 23 adopts the legend of Tertullian, which affirms that John was plunged into heated oil without experiencing any injury, and, in this way, proved himself possessed of the *spirit* of a martyr and drank the calix *confessionis*.

² *Augustin*, Tract. 124 in Evang. Joan. According to a legend of later date (by *Pseudo-Hippolytus* de consummatione mundi, comp. *Lampe* Comment. in. Ev. Jo. I. p. 98), John was taken alive to heaven as Enoch and Elias and will appear with these saints of the Old Testament as heralds of the visible coming of Christ, as John the Baptist prepared the way for the first coming of Christ.

in danger of particular abuse. His tendency towards meditation, under the influence of evil principles, might easily have led him to adopt a system of phantastic, pantheistic speculation, destroying the distinction that separates the world from God. A believing sight, however, of the Word made flesh converted this gift into a holy wisdom. By means of intercourse with the living truth he became the leader of Christian philosophers, the representative of knowledge inspired with devotion to God, the "Theologos" in a most emphatic sense. He had the power of setting forth in the simplest style the most profound thoughts, which furnish the ripest thinker with an inexhaustible quantity of food for reflection. The Church has set forth his character under the expressive symbol of an eagle, which flies with eager joy to the highest regions; on this account, the genial Raphaël has represented him as resting on the wings of an eagle, and gazing with keen eye into the heights of heaven. In this significant way the Church designed to convey an idea of the acute prophetic talent, the elevated thought and noble, imposing greatness of John.¹

As respects his religious character, in spite of the good natural tendencies that adorned it, he was not free from sin. Such tender-hearted, loving souls are invariably inclined to suspicion and envy, to refined self-love and vanity. A revengeful spirit seems to have given rise to the account recorded in Luke 9: 49, 50 and Mark 9: 38, 40, and a spirit of unlawful ambition to his petition to the Lord for the first honor in the kingdom of the Messiah (Mark 10: 35). Of special importance is the fact which Luke 9: 51, 56 narrates. The inhabitants of a town in Samaria having refused to receive Jesus, both the disciples John and James gave vent to their feelings in the angry words: "Lord, if thou wilt, we will call fire from heaven to devour them, as Elias did." Here is evidently displayed a hasty, carnal zeal, an impure spirit of revenge, which confounded the nature of the Old Testament with that of the New, and forgot that the Son of

¹ *Jerome, Comment. ad Matth. Proœm. remarks: Quarta aquilæ (facies, comp. Ezek. 1: 10) Joannem (significat), quia sumtis pennis aquilæ et ad altiora festinans de verbo Dei disputat.*—An old Epigram says of John: More volans aquilæ verbo petit astra Joannes, and a hymn from the Middle Ages sings of him:

Volat avis sine meta,
Quo nec vates nec propheta
Evolavit altius.
Tam implenda, quam impleta,
Nunquam vidit tot secreta
Purus homo purius.

Man came not to destroy but to save. This fact teaches at the same time that John had not, as is often represented, a weak, sentimental disposition which received impressions without analyzing or resisting them. His love was of a strong, deep order, and might, on this very account, pass over into as strong a hatred, for hatred is only love inverted. Most probably the surname: "Sons of Thunder," which Jesus gave to the sons of Zebedee Mark 3: 17, had reference to this trait, and denotes the intensity of feeling, the passionate strength of the affections, which might easily give rise to such angry outbursts as occurred on the occasion mentioned. An impetuous disposition grapples to itself with great force the object of its love, and repels with as great force whatever stands in conflict with it. Whilst this temperament was not purified and sanctified by the divine Spirit, it might have operated in a violent, destructive way, like the destroying, dark rolling thunder. In giving John this surname, Jesus rebuked his imprudent zeal and his carnal passion, and gave him a significant hint of the necessity of curbing his nature and rooting out its ungodly elements. But if this temperament were once brought under the influence and guidance of the Spirit, it might, like every other natural gift, bring to pass great things in the kingdom of God. In this respect, the appellation "Sons of Thunder" carries in it something of honor, inasmuch as the same thunder which at one time destroys, at another purifies the air and fructifies the earth with its accompanying showers.¹ That which was good and true in his zeal, remained in the regenerate John, namely, the moral energy and decision with which he loved the good and hated the bad. The natural gift was cleansed from all sinful admixtures, mellowed and made to subserve the interests of Christianity. Over the pages of the Apocalypse rolls loudly and mightily the thunder of his wrath, against the enemies of the Lord and of his bride. In the Gospel and in the Epistles, it is true, there breathes a gentle, quiet spirit, but the storm frowns at least in the distance, when he describes the coming to judgment of the Son of God c. 5: 25, 30. With what holy abhorrence he speaks of the traitor and of the increasing rage of the Pharisees against the Messiah! He allows the Lord to call the Jews who harbored murderous thoughts

¹ Incorrect is the opinion of the Greek Church fathers who refer the title *Βασιλειῶν* or *υἱοὶ Βασιλέως* to the striking presentation of profound ideas, and to the convincing power of eloquence. In such case it would convey simply the idea of honor or merit and not at the same time of reproach, and would stand in no connection with the fact in Luke 9: 51-56.

children of the devil (8 : 44); he himself calls every one who does not confirm his christian profession with a godly walk a liar (1 John 1 : 6, 8, 10), who hates his brother, a murderer, (3 : 15), who commits sin wilfully, a child of the devil (3 : 8). How earnestly and urgently he warns men of the denier of the Christ Incarnate, as of the liar and the Antichrist (1 John 2 : 18; 4 : 1, &c.)! In the second Epistle v. 10 and 11 he even forbids to salute a heretic, and to take him into the house. Bearing this in mind, the narration of *Irenaeus*¹ will appear in no wise improbable. This venerable Apostle, it is said, having met with the Gnostic Cerinthus in a public bath, left it with these words: he was afraid the building might fall to pieces, because Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth was in it. If we do not consider the character of John as composed to a great extent of weakness in the opinion, at least, of sentimental romance writers, we will be able without much difficulty to reconcile these apparently contradictory traits, his inward glow of love and the consuming wrath, his heavenly meekness and impetuous zeal. It was one and the same inward disposition which exhibited itself in both cases, but in different modes; at one time it drew within its embrace what accorded with the Divine will, at another it rejected what was opposed to it, just as the sun, which shines upon and warms that which has life, but advances the putrefaction of that which is dead. He who supposes christian love to be a good-natured indulgence to sin, has an entirely perverted notion of its nature, and only destroys the moral character of him whom he would save by such sentimental indifference. In proportion to the depth of the love with which a mother loves a child will be her vigilance to discover and punish its faults, that it may by repentance, improve in spirit, and become more attractive. The more intensely and unreservedly a man loves God, the more decidedly and unchangeably will he hate sin and Satan.

If we compare John with *Peter*, we will find that, though agreeing in faith and united by the bond of love, they exhibited in different ways the glorified image of God. Peter had a disposition which took delight in outward activity, in organizing congregations and legislating for their wants; John, on the contrary, loved to retire within the secret chambers of the soul, to converse with its heavenly aspirations and was admirably qualified for training up an organized congregation in the spirit of sound doctrine, and of love. In the Acts, we find both at the

¹ Adv. hæc III, 3, comp. Euseb. III, 28, and IV, 14.

head of the infant Church; Peter, however, greatly surpassed John in the imposing grandeur of his deeds; he always stood forth as the convincing preacher, the powerful worker of miracles, the prince of the Apostles, who courageously cleared the way for the advance of the Christian system. The Apostle of love stood modestly by his side, wrapped in mysterious silence, and yet commanding in his very silence; for men felt that he bore in his quiet soul a whole world of ideas, which he would reveal at the proper time and on the proper occasion. Whilst Peter and Paul had the talent of planting, he, like Apollos, had that of watering. Christ did not commit to him the duty of laying the foundation of the Church, but of building it up when laid. As his Gospel both in time and nature presuppose the other three, so, also, his writings in general, in order to be fully understood, require the presence of a matured experience in Christian knowledge. In temperament Peter is of the sanguine order, with a strong admixture of the choleric; on this account, very susceptible of outward influences, quick of decision, easily excited, not always persevering and reliable, because moved by outward impressions, a man for the present, and of direct word and act. John is melancholic; on this account not so easily aroused to action, but when once excited, more deeply agitated, and disposed to cling with more intense affection to the object of his love; indifferent to the affairs of the outward world, he lingered with fond delight along the track of the Past, and has the honor of being a master in knowledge and love. Both disciples loved the Lord with all their might, but, as Grotius truly remarks, Peter was a friend of *Christ* (φιλόχριστος), John, a friend of *Jesus* (φιλοῖησους), i. e. the former admired particularly the office of the Saviour, his Messianic dignity, the latter gazed first upon His person, and, on this account, stood in closer connection with him, and was, so to speak, his bosom friend. Besides, the love of the one was more productive and manly, that of the other more receptive and virgin-like. Peter found his happiness in exhibiting in act his love to the Lord; John in permitting himself to be loved by Him, and in the consciousness of being loved by Him, on which account he so often calls himself the disciple whom Jesus loved. A similar relation obtains in the female characters of the New Testament, between the practical, busy, ever-active *Martha*, and the contemplative *Mary*, who calmly reposed on the love of Jesus and forgot the bustle and noise of the outward world. Yet upon both rested the good pleasure of the Lord; both were necessary for the kingdom of God; the absence of either of them would mar the beauty of the Christian life, as displayed in the New Testament.

John had, in common with *Paul*, profundity of knowledge. They are the two Apostles who have left behind them the fullest and most complete doctrinal system. But their knowledge is of a different order. Paul who received his training in the schools of the Pharisees, is a thinker of extraordinary acuteness, and an accomplished dialectician;—a representative of *Scholasticism*, in the best sense of the term, who exhibits the christian system by a progressive development of ideas from cause to effect, from the general to the particular, from propositions to their conclusions, with logical clearness and acumen. The knowledge of John is intuition and contemplation. He gazes in spirit upon the object of his love, he surveys everything as in a picture, and thus presents the profoundest truths, as an eye-witness, without any proof, in their original, native simplicity and freshness. His knowledge of heavenly things is the profound insight of love, which always darts its look to the central point of things, and from this forth surveys in one view all the parts of the periphery. He is the representative of all genuine *Mysticism*. Both together furnish supplies for the wants of the spirit that thirsts for wisdom, for the acute, discriminating understanding, as well as for the speculating reason which binds in unity the scattered fragments of thought, for the mediated reflection as well as for the immediate intuition. Paul and John have revealed in their two fundamental forms the eternal characteristics of all true Theology and Philosophy; eighteen hundred years have passed, but the contents of their writings have not yet been exhausted. —Peter has been aptly styled the Apostle of *Hope*, Paul the Apostle of *Faith*, John the Apostle of *Love*. The first is the representative of Catholicism, the second of Protestantism, the third of the ideal Church, in which the discordances of the first two will be brought to an end.

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P. S.

TRENCH'S LECTURES.

- The Hulsean Lectures for 1845 and 1846.* By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, M. A. From the Second London Edition. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 1850. Pp. 322—12 mo.
- The Star of the Wise Men; being a Commentary on the Second Chapter of St. Matthew.* By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, B. D. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 1850. Pp. 116.

These works have come into our hands, since the preparation of the article which goes before on another work of the same author. We are happy to say, that they serve to sustain abundantly the favorable judgment we have already been led to express in his behalf. They are works which we are able to commend with a good conscience, to all who take an interest in theology and religion. We should be glad to know, that they were widely circulated and read; and especially should we look upon it as no small gain for the cause of our common Christianity, if the ministry generally, not of one denomination only but of all, might be brought to give them their serious and patient attention. Here in a comparatively popular form, with a truly learned culture at the same time, is just such a representation of the gospel as we take to be of most needful account for the present wants of the Church. A sound christological feeling in particular runs through the whole; producing a theology which is at once deep and fresh, and that takes full hold of the understanding, while it powerfully moves the heart. We are not fed with the husks of a dead mechanical tradition merely, whether of the schools or of the conventicle; the forms and shams of a faith which has fallen away entirely from its own original life, and which in these circumstances shows itself too often fanatically full of zeal for the shadow of what is thus gone, only to make up to itself the sense of such loss. Theology, as it meets us in these writings of Mr. Trench, is no tradition, but the power of a present life, the outbirth of religion itself, announcing its own glorious authority for the soul of the world, from Him who is at once its author and perpetual ground. In such form, it is necessarily churchly; for a living Christianity, as distinguished from a doctrinal theory or a philosophical school, necessarily implies the idea of a Church, which is the Body of Christ, the organ and medium of his presence in the world, and in this view "the pillar and ground of the truth" as well as the channel of all spiritual blessings to his people. All this howev-

er in constant union still with Christ, as the head and fountain from which only such spiritual grace can flow in this living way. The idea of the Church as an outward hedge and guard of the truth simply, in the sense which some affect, we hold of course for sheer pedantry; and it finds no countenance whatever in the author, whom we have now under consideration. The authority and glory of the Church with him flow always from the presence of Christ, are made necessary by this only, and have no meaning or force the moment it is withdrawn. The idea of the Church grows forth from the idea of Christ; the first is in no sense accidental to the second, but springs from it as its necessary living product; so that the faith which says, *I believe that the Word became Flesh*, if it be true and not traditional only, involves always this also as its own unavoidable sense at the last, *I believe the holy catholic Church*. The Church proves or authenticates Christ; but it is only as Christ authenticates and makes necessary in the first place the Church; and this is just as the sun authenticates the light of the world, by which at the same time its own presence is proclaimed and revealed. All Christianity begins in Christ, and can never for a moment be parted from his person. Theology then, to be in the right sense churchly, must be also soundly christological. It can never become so, by ceasing to be churchly; although of course the mere cry of *The Church! The Church!* is by no means enough of itself to give it any such character. A sound christology, on the contrary, can never fail to work itself out in the way of a sound church feeling, as its proper and necessary result. A doctrine of Christ which brings with it no doctrine of the Church, as an article of faith in the order of the ancient Creed, must for this very reason be counted incomplete and unsafe.

The Hulsean Lectures consist of two different courses, making in fact two different works. The first is on the "Fitness of Holy Scripture for unfolding the Spiritual Life of Men;" the second is entitled, "Christ the Desire of All Nations, or, the Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom." Each course is a contribution to the general argument for the truth of Christianity, over against the infidelity of its enemies. The sphere of proof, in both cases, is the interior life of Christianity itself, as related to the general life of the world; this first as we have it in the whole constitution of the Bible; and then more particularly as it comes before us in the person and work of Christ. It is not meant of course, in this way of treating the Christian Evidence, to exclude or undervalue the force of other proofs which are more outward in their nature; but it falls in well with the char-

acter of Mr. Trench's mind, and as it seems to us with the rightful claims also of the subject itself, to urge this inward argument as that which is of main account in the case, and which must always come in as the primary and central proof to give the other its full force.

The little volume, entitled the *Star of the Wise Men*, is written in the same vein, and in some respects, we may say, with the same general tendency and object. It is an interesting commentary, full of learned reference and illustration and yet sufficiently popular and easy of comprehension, on the visit of the Magians to the cradle of the infant Redeemer; a passage which has always filled largely the imagination of the Church, as being pregnant with a world of sense too deep for the common natural eye; while for the very same reason perhaps, it has proved an occasion of more than common difficulty and offence for rationalistic criticism in all ages.

We think it well to set forth here some of the leading *ideas* of Professor Trench, as they stand connected with the question of the Church and the question of Christ's person, (two questions which fall at last into one,) and thus challenge consideration as a part of the living and waking theology of this present time. These come more or less into view in all his writings which we have yet seen; but stand out with special prominence in the works now before us. We shall not feel it necessary to keep to the order of the works themselves, which is ruled of course in each case by the special end in view; nor yet to follow very strictly any order that may be involved in the ideas considered as a whole; although it must be evident enough that they belong to one system, and are in truth bound together by an inward principle of unity and common life throughout. Our object will be sufficiently answered by their simple presentation, in such connection as we may find most readily at hand for the purpose; and this will be best secured, by allowing the author to speak to a considerable extent in his own person.

1. No purely outward evidence, no proof which is beyond the actual substance of the thing itself, can ever be taken as sufficient in such separate view, to establish the truth of Christianity.

This would imply, that Christianity is not the deepest and most comprehensive form of truth for the human mind; that there is truth beyond it more certain, or at least more immediately evident, which is of itself complete without relation to Christianity; and that from this as a previously fixed ground of faith, it is possible and necessary to conclude over to the presence of the other, as a new and different order altogether of

what is to be received for reality and fact. But every such supposition wrongs the proper idea of the glorious gospel, by which life and immortality are brought to light. The *whole* life of man, so far as it is true, must come here to its central, most profound and most universal significance. There is no room then to conceive of this, as something which is upheld for man's apprehension and belief by some other form of existence wholly out of its own sphere. Make the proof of Christianity to be completely on the outside of Christianity itself, and it is necessarily subordinated to this as its necessary condition and measure; for the inference or conclusion can never be more than the premises from which it is drawn. The result thus may easily be seen to be rationalism; by which the truth of Christ is made to be the property and product of man's reason, instead of becoming as it ought to be its inmost soul and life. Thus it is, as we have previously had it under consideration, that miracles of themselves, and as mere signals and notes of preparation from the other world, have no force to show a revelation sure, or to shut men up to the belief of it, without regard to the matter itself which is revealed. The same is true of prophecies, viewed as the superhuman knowledge simply of things future. So of all external proofs for the truth of Christianity. Taken by themselves, they can never form a valid, full and final reason for faith. This must have respect always to the truth itself as a divine word, which as such is to be received on the authority of God, going along with it and making itself felt by its means.

2. It lies at the same time in the nature of Christianity, that its interior life and power should be attested by corresponding external manifestations; which in such connection become of true force, to exemplify and establish its character as a divine revelation.

3. The inward and outward then must go together in the argument for Christianity; not as separate forms of proof; but as different necessary sides of the same general evidence; only with this order always observed however, that the inward shall be counted first, and the outward second, and the last be felt to depend continually upon the first. The outward, in such case, is not of a different nature from the inward, cut off from it and standing out from it in an abstract way; but it grows forth from it rather, and is concrete with it as the power of one and the same life; just as the body stands related to the soul, which it serves at once to reveal and complete in the living world. Christianity could not be without its external seals, in the form particularly of miracle and prophecy; while yet all the force they

have as proof in its favor springs from its own constitution. They have such force, only as they are seen and felt to be the natural, necessary outbirth of the new order of life with which they are thus joined.

4. And as its own proper wonders are in this way part of itself, so also it is found to fall in harmoniously with the order and constitution of the world, universally taken, as it holds before it and beyond it in a lower sphere.

How else could it be from God? The world is his work; which is not to be set aside certainly by Christianity as a failure, but if this be true must be carried out by it rather to its last and only perfect end. Nature looks throughout to Mind; foreshadows it; prepares the way for its presence; sheds light from all sides on its laws and workings. And so again the world of mind itself, the existence of man naturally considered, looks upwards and forwards always to religion in its highest form—faith, union with God, redemption and salvation in the full sense—as its own natural and right consummation; its true original purpose and destiny, short of which it can never stop without being forever maimed and mutilated in its whole being. In such view of course, the relation of Christianity to the world can never be regarded as being in any way either abrupt or violent. It was one grand error of the ancient Gnostics, to look upon it in this false light. All sound catholic feeling however protests against the view, as one that involves high treason to the Christian religion. The world in its natural constitution has no power to produce Christianity, or to rise of itself into its sphere; this stands related to it in such view as something strictly and absolutely *supernatural*; but it is none the less certain for all this, that the first carries in it a need for the second, and so a preparation for it, and a prophecy of its coming. And thus it is that the supernatural is never *unnatural*; does not contradict the order of nature; does not play into it fantastically only in the way of magic; but so fits itself into organic harmonious union with it that both are plainly seen to be from the same source, and of the same common scheme and plan.

5. The whole constitution of Nature in this way becomes a mirror, which serves to reflect, and so to illustrate and confirm the realities of the higher spiritual world, which comes to its full revelation in Christ.

Not as something independent of his actual revelation; but in virtue of this, and mainly by its means; as the splendors of the risen sun are reflected from earth and sky, in the full blaze only of its own central light. Nature, though multitudinous

and manifold, is still one; a single whole through all its parts; a sphere, whose innumerable dispositions look and lean always to a common centre; a pyramid, that climbs at every point towards the same summit. For modern science, this may be taken as a settled maxim, which it is becoming more desperate every day to fight against or call in question. But having this constitution, it becomes at once no less certain that the world as a whole is framed with reference to the life of spirit, and to this under its highest form which is reached only at last through Christ, as that without which all the inferior stages of creation must be shorn of their significance and sense. Nature thus is necessarily a universal prophecy of Christianity; the symbol everywhere of its invisible and eternal realities; a magnificent image and sacrament, we may say, of the high spiritual grace that is made to open on the soul of man by its means.

“The parable, or other analogy to spiritual truth appropriated from the world of nature or man, is not merely illustration, but also in some sort proof. It is not merely that these analogies assist to make the truth intelligible, or, if intelligible before, present it more vividly to the mind, which is all that some will allow them. Their power lies deeper than this, in the harmony unconsciously felt by all men, and by deeper minds continually recognized and plainly perceived, between the natural and spiritual world, so that analogies from the first are felt to be something more than illustrations, happily but arbitrarily chosen. They are arguments, and may be alleged as witnesses; the world of nature being throughout a witness for the world of spirit, proceeding from the same hand, growing out of the same root, and being constituted for that very end. All lovers of truth readily acknowledge these mysterious harmonies, and the force of arguments derived from them. To them the things on earth are copies of the things in heaven. They know that the earthly tabernacle is made after the pattern of things seen in the mount (Exod. xxv. 40, 1 Chron. xxviii. 11, 12); and the question suggested by the Angel in Milton is often forced upon their meditations:

‘What if earth
Be but the shadow of heaven and things therein,
Each to other like, more than on earth is thought?’

“For it is a great misunderstanding of the matter, to think of these as happily, but yet arbitrarily, chosen illustrations taken with a skilful selection from the great stock and storehouse of unappropriated images; from whence it would have been possible that the same skill might have selected others as good, or nearly as good. Rather they belong to one another, the type and the thing typified,

by an inward necessity; they were linked together long before by the law of a secret affinity. It is not a happy accident, which has yielded so wondrous an analogy as that of husband and wife, to set forth the mystery of Christ's relation to his elect Church. There is far more in it than this: the earthly relation is indeed but a lower form of the heavenly, on which it rests, and of which it is the utterance. When Christ spoke to Nicodemus of a new birth, it was not merely because birth into this natural world was the most suitable figure that could be found for the expression of that spiritual act, which, without any power of our own, is accomplished upon us when we are brought into God's kingdom; but all the circumstances of this natural birth had been pre-ordained to bear the burden of so great a mystery. The Lord is king, not borrowing this title from the kings of the earth, but having lent his own title to them—and not the name only, but so ordering, that all true rule and government upon earth, with its righteous laws, its stable ordinances, its punishment and its grace, its majesty and its terror, should tell of Him and of his kingdom which ruleth over all—so that 'kingdom of God' is not in fact a figurative expression, but most literal: it is rather the earthly kingdoms, and the earthly kings, that are figures and shadows of the true. And as in the world of man and human relations, so also is it in the world of nature. The untended soil which yields thorns and briars as its natural harvest, is a permanent type and enduring parable of man's heart, which has been submitted to the same curse, and without a watchful spiritual husbandry will as surely put forth *its* briars and *its* thorns. The weeds that *will* mingle during the time of growth with the corn, and yet are separated from it at the last, tell ever one and the same tale of the present admixture, and future sundering, of the righteous and the wicked. The decaying of the insignificant unsightly seed in the earth, and the rising up out of that decay and death, of the graceful stalk and the fruitful ear, contain evermore the prophecy of the final resurrection, even as this is itself in its kind a resurrection—the same process at a lower stage—the same power putting itself forth upon meaner things."—*Notes on the Parables*, p. 17–19.

6. In the same general way, only with more direct and immediate relation, History also bears universal testimony to Christ and Christianity as the proper completion of the world.

History is not a mere multitude and succession of facts. It implies organization and process; and in this view belongs especially to man, in distinction from mere nature—which repeats itself, age after age, without going forward in the way of new fact. It becomes properly real, only when we conceive of Man or Humanity as being a single whole, which is animated by one

general life, and in virtue of this moves steadily onward, from period to period, towards some ultimate end in which all is to be brought to a conclusion worthy of itself and of God. But to see and admit this, is necessarily to own at the same time that all this movement has regard from the first to Christianity, and turns upon it at last as the true deepest and most central sense of the world. For how can God be taken to have one object or plan in History generally considered, and another in the revelation of the Gospel? Such an imagination is at once atheistic and profane.

“Properly speaking, where there are no workings, conscious or unconscious, to the great end of the manifestation of the Son of God in the flesh,—conscious, as in Israel, unconscious, as in Greece,—where neither those nor these are found, there history does not and cannot exist. For history, if it be not the merest toy, the idlest pastime of our vacant hours, is the record of the onward march of humanity towards an end. Where there is no belief in such an end, and therefore no advance toward it, no stirrings of a divine Word in a people's bosom, where not as yet the beast's heart has been taken away, and a man's heart given, there history cannot be said to be. They belong not therefore to history, least of all to sacred history, those Babels, those cities of confusion, those huge pens into which by force and fraud the early hunters of men, the Nimrods and Sesostrises, drove and compelled their fellows: and Scripture is only most true to its idea, while it passes them almost or wholly in silence by, while it lingers rather on the plains of Mamre with the man that ‘believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness,’ than by ‘populous No,’ or great Babylon, where no faith existed but in the blind powers of nature, and the brute forces of the natural man.”—*Hulsean Lectures*, p. 40-41.

7. Thus related to Nature and History, as the true completion of man's life in the world, Christianity itself is no doctrine merely or law, but a living constitution; not only capable of falling in with the onward progress of humanity as otherwise known; but destined also to receive the entire stream finally into its own bosom, and to bear it triumphantly forward to that ocean of glory for which all has been set in motion from the beginning. In its full revelation, it comes not first in the order of time; but still it is first in the actual idea of the world, as forming the ground on which only in the end all other spheres of man's life can be brought to their true unity and perfection. It is not one among other such spheres, but a power that is required to embrace and rule all; art, science, politics, social life,

every form of existence that enters normally into the conception of humanity, not only may but must be taken up by it as its rightful property, and can become complete only by entering into it as the spiritual whole of which every such interest is legitimately but parcel and part. Art must become thoroughly christian, in order to be fully worthy of its own name; so science; so business; so civil government. And Christianity can never acknowledge any such interest, as having a right to stand beyond itself. Whatever is human it claims for its own, as being in truth commensurate with humanity, nay the very fact of humanity itself, under its deepest and most comprehensive form.

8. Revealed Religion in this view is a single fact or constitution, reaching historically through successive ages from the first promise in Paradise to the time of its full completion in Christ. Hence the proper unity of the Bible, including the Old Testament as well as the New. It is characterized by endless diversities in the form of its composition; but the idea which pervades it is always the same; it is throughout one harmonious whole, moving onward continually with the force of a living process to its own proper end in the mystery of the Incarnation.

“It is not the history of nature, but of man; nor yet of all men, but only of those who are more or less conscious of their divine original, and have not, amid all their sins, forgotten that great word, ‘We are God’s offspring;’—nor yet even of all these, but of those alone who had been brought by the word of the promise into immediate covenant relations with the Father of their spirits. We have seen it the history of an election,—of men under the direct and immediate education of God—not indeed for their own sakes only, as too many among them thought, turning their election into a selfish thing, but that through them he might educate and bless the world. That it does not tell the story of other men—that it does not give a philosophy of nature, is not a deficiency, but is rather its strength and glory; witnessing for the Spirit which has presided over its growth and formation, and never suffered aught which was alien to its great plan and purpose to find admission into it—any foreign elements to weaken its strength or trouble its clearness.

Nor less does Holy Scripture give testimony for a pervading unity, an inner law according to which it unfolds itself as a perfect and organic whole, in the epoch at which growth in it ceases, and it appears henceforth as a finished book. So long as humanity was growing, it grew. But when the manhood of our race was reached, when man had attained his highest point, even union with God in his Son, then it comes to a close. It carries him up to this, to

his glorious goal, to the perfect knitting again of those broken relations, through the life and death and resurrection of Him in whom God and man were perfectly atoned. So long as there was any thing more to tell, any new revelation of the Name of God, any new relations of grace and nearness into which he was bringing his creatures,—so long the Bible was a growing, expanding book. But when all is given, when God, who at divers times spake to the world by his servants, had now spoken his last and fullest Word by his Son, then to this Book, the record of that Word of his, there is added no more, even while there is nothing more to add;—though it cannot end till it has shown in prophetic vision how this latest and highest which now has been given to man, shall unfold itself into the glory and blessedness of a perfected kingdom of heaven.”—*Hulsean Lectures*, p. 43-45.

9. The Old Testament bears witness to Christ throughout ; not so much by isolated texts, as in its universal life ; which is in truth the power of that higher order itself out of which in due time Christ was to spring, and so could not fail to bring into view innumerable analogies and prefigurations on a lower scale of what should at last come to pass in Him on the highest.

The O. T. prophecies and types are not abstract and arbitrary ; naked vaticinations, standing out here and there, in an abrupt magical way ; but they grow forth always from the living constitution of that revelation as a whole, and have such sense as belongs to them only in virtue of this organic connection with the universal system of which they are a part. They reach to Christ only as the entire system had regard to him as its necessary end, and in such particular utterances gave vent, so to speak, to its general meaning.

“ We dishonour prophecy, when the chief value which it has in our eyes is the use to which it may be turned as evidence ; when we regard it as serving no nobler ends, as having no deeper root in the economy of God than in this are presumed ; when it is for us merely a *miraculum scientiæ*, which, with the miracles properly so called, the *miracula protentiæ*, may do duty in proving against cavillers the divine origin of our Faith ; when all that we can find is that the doers of the works and the utterers of the words did and said what was beyond the reach and scope of common men. But the fact that prophecy should constitute so large an element in Scripture finds its explanation rather in that law which we have been tracing throughout *all* Scripture—the law, I mean, of an orderly development, according to which there is nothing sudden, nothing abrupt or unprepared in his counsels, all whose works were known to him from the beginning. It is part of this law that there

should ever be prefigurations of the coming, that truths so vast and so mighty as those of the New Covenant, so difficult for man's heart to conceive, should have their way prepared, should, ere they arrive in their highest shape, give pledge and promise of themselves in lower forms and in weaker rudiments."—*Hulsean Lect.*, p. 83.

"The rending away of isolated passages, and then saying, This Psalm, or That chapter of Isaiah, is prophetic, and has to do with Christ and his kingdom,—and this without explaining how it comes that these have to do, and those nearest them have not, can never truly satisfy; men's minds resist this fragmentary capricious exposition. The portions of Scripture thus adduced very likely are those in which prophecy concentrates itself more than in any other: they may be the strongest expressions of that Spirit which quickens the whole mass; but it has not forsaken the other portions to gather itself up exclusively in these."—*P.* 85.

"All the Old Testament, as the record of a divine constitution pointing to something higher than itself, administered by men who were ever looking beyond themselves to a Greater that should come, who were uttering, as the Spirit stirred them, the deepest longings of their souls after *his* appearing, is prophetic; and this, not by an arbitrary appointment, which meant thus to supply evidences ready to hand for the truth of Revelation, in the curious tallying of the Old with the New, the remarkable fulfilments of the foretold, but prophetic according to the inmost necessities of the case, which would not suffer it to be otherwise.

"For how could God, bringing to pass what was good and true, do other than make it resemble what was best and truest, which he should one day bring to pass? Raising up holy men, how could he avoid giving them features of likeness to the Holiest of all? appointing them functions and offices in which to bless their brethren, how could these otherwise than anticipate his functions and his office, who should come in the fulness of blessing to his people? Inspiring them to speak, stirring by the breath of his Spirit the deepest chords of their hearts, how could He bring forth from them any other notes but those which made the deepest music of their lives; their longings, namely, after the promised Redeemer, their yearnings after the kingdom of his righteousness,—mere longings and yearnings no longer now, since the Spirit that inspired such utterances, being the very Spirit of Truth, gave pledge, in sanctioning and working the desire, that the fulfilment of that desire in due time should not be wanting? If the poet had right when he spake of

"the prophetic soul
Of the great world, dreaming of things to come;"

by how much higher reason must a prophetic soul have dwelt in Israel, by which it not vaguely dreamed, but in some sort felt itself

already in possession, of the great things to come, whereof it knew that the seeds and germs were laid so deeply in its own bosom? We may say of Judaism, that it bore in its womb the Messiah, as the man-child whom it should one day give birth to, and only in the forming and bearing of whom it found its true meaning. This was its function, and according to the counsel of God it should have been saved through this child-bearing; though by its own sin it did itself expire in giving birth to Him who was intended to have been not its death but its life."—P. 86-87.

10. All religion culminates in Christianity, as the absolute truth which is in various ways relatively and partially signified in its lower manifestations.

Religion, universally taken, is not a matter of mere outward contrivance and authority joined to man's life, but roots itself in the constitution of human nature itself, as a necessary part of it, without which it must cease to be human altogether. With such common ground and necessity, all religions must have to some extent a common character, must look towards the same ultimate point, must work themselves out into more or less similar and analogous results. The relation of the absolutely true religion then to religions that are false, the various forms for instance of heathenism, is not one of abrupt and total difference; as though all were a lie outright on the outside of this perfect truth, and it could stand in no sort of correspondence whatever with anything beyond itself pretending to be religion. But it is this rather, that the inmost power which is at work in these false religions, the want or need of man's nature from which they spring and in virtue of which only he is capable of religion, whether true or false, finds at last its *full* satisfaction in Christianity, the end towards which it has been everywhere else struggling and striving, and comes in this way to such a solution of its own sense, (the true burden of the riddle of humanity,) as could never be reached in any other way. Thus it is, that even Heathenism becomes on a large scale an unconscious prophecy of Christianity, the proclamation on the four winds of heaven of its glorious advent, and a grand standing argument and testimony to its truth through all ages.

11. The analogies and resemblances then that appear in false religions to the doctrines and facts of that which is true, form no ground for skeptical hesitation in regard to the last, (as some affect to think,) but go powerfully rather to corroborate its claims to confidence and trust. We need not stumble at their presence; but would have reason far more to wonder and be in doubt, if they were altogether wanting.

"These resemblances disturb us not at all,—they are rather most welcome; for we do not believe the peculiar glory of what in Christ we possess to consist in this, that it is unlike every thing else, 'the cold denial and contradiction of all that men have been dreaming of through the different ages of the world, but rather the sweet reconciliation and exquisite harmony of all past thoughts, anticipations, revelations.' Its prerogative is, that all whereof men had a troubled dream before, did in Him become a waking reality; that what men were devising, and most inadequately, for themselves, God has perfectly given us in his Son; that in the room of shifting cloud-palaces, with their mockery of temple and tower, stands for us a city, which hath come down from heaven, but whose foundations rest upon this earth of ours;—that we have divine *facts*—facts no doubt which are ideal, in that they are the vehicle of everlasting truths; history indeed which is far more than history, for it embodies the largest and most continually recurring thoughts which have stirred the bosom of humanity from the beginning. We say that the divine ideas which had wandered up and down the world, till oftentimes they had well nigh forgotten themselves and their own origin, did at length clothe themselves in flesh and blood; they became incarnate with the Incarnation of the Son of God. In his life and person the idea and the fact at length kissed each other, and were henceforward wedded for evermore."

"The Church—we behold it as sitting upon many waters, upon the great ocean of truth, from whence every stream that has at all or at any time refreshed the earth was originally drawn, and to which it duteously brings its waters again. We may contemplate that Church as having, in that it has the Word and Spirit of its Lord, the measure of all partial truth in itself; receiving the homage of all human systems, meekly, and yet, like a queen, as her right; understanding them far better than they ever understood themselves; disallowing their false, and what of true they have, setting her seal upon that true, and issuing it with a brighter image, and a sharper outline, and a more paramount authority, from her own mint."—P. 179-180.

12. This sort of analogical testimony must fall in especially at last on the person of Christ himself, as the centre of the Christian revelation, and the full answer to the inmost and deepest want of the world.

The second series of these Hulsean Lectures is particularly taken up with the object of showing Christ to have been thus the "Desire of all Nations," as fulfilling in a real way the dreams and expectations that have entered most widely into the mind of the race under the character of religion. The hope of the Messiah is no foreign thought forced on men from without; it

has its reason and seat in their own nature; it belongs to the natural history of their life itself, in its general or universal form. "As the earth in its long polar night seeks to supply the absence of the day by the generation of the northern lights, so does each people in the long night of its heathen darkness bring forth in its yearning after the life of Christ, a faint and glimmering substitute for the same. From these dreamy longings after the break of day have proceeded oracles, priests, sacrifices, lawgivers, and the like."

"Coming as did the Son of God in the end of time, it lay in the necessity of things that these signs and symbols, with indeed much that lay yet nearer to the heart of the truth, should have been in a measure pre-occupied by others, that what was truly given in Him—the glory which, in all its fulness, arrayed his person, and centred in it—should have been in some small measure actually lent, or should have been imagined to have been lent, to others that went before Him. Thus to take but a single, yet an illustrious example. The heathen religions boasted of their virgin-born, as of Buddha and Zoroaster, as of Pythagoras and Plato. It much concerns us to determine in what relation and connexion we will put their legend and our history; whether we will use the truth to show that the falsehood was not all falsehood, and for the detecting the golden grains of a true anticipation which lay concealed amid all its dross; or whether we will suffer the falsehoods to cast a slight and suspicion upon the truth, as though that was but the crowning falsehood of them all. In the present position of the controversy with infidelity we cannot let these parallels alone if we would,—even if we were willing to forego the precious witness for the glory and truth of the Christian Faith which they contain. We cannot ignore them; if they are not for us, they will be used against us. But they are for us; since we may justly ask,—and it is no playing with imperfect analogies, for the question may be transferred from the natural to the spiritual world,—Are the parhelia, however numerous, to be accepted as evidence that all is optical illusion, that there is no such true body of light as the sun after all; or rather, does not the very fact of their delusively painting the horizon, tell of and announce a sun, which is surely travelling up from behind?"—*Star of the Wise Men*, p. 27-28.

13. It lies in the true conception of Christ, as the living centre of the world's living history, that his salvation should hold primarily in the form of life, and root itself thus in the very mystery of the incarnation itself, rather than in any word or work merely brought to pass by its means.

All sound christology runs back irresistibly to this conclusion.

Religions which are at best only relatively true—which do but point to the truth under another form—fall short of course necessarily of the substance they thus represent. But if there be any religion which is absolutely the truth itself, and not its mere dream or shadow, it must for this very reason differ itself from all such relative religions, not by going before them simply in their own character of adumbration, but by *being* in full all that they indirectly signify and proclaim. So in Christianity, the law is turned into “grace and truth;” the letter into spirit; the doctrine into life; and the beginning of all is the Word made flesh, the actual entrance of the divine life into the sphere of our general humanity by the mystery of the incarnation. “The *Life* became the Light of men.” Doctrine followed of course; and work also; especially the great work of atonement, involving Christ’s death and resurrection. But these grow forth from the constitution of his person itself, and stand in it continually as their living ground, and when sundered from it lose all their meaning and force.

“It has not merely been *heroic* men, men who triumphed over all, even death itself, but *divine* men, for whom the world has been craving; in whom it has felt deeply that its help must lie—a most true voice of man’s spirit ever telling him that only from heaven the true deliverance of the earth could proceed. We shall see how men have been ever cherishing the conviction of a real fellowship between earth and heaven, and *that* not merely an outward one, but an inward; a conviction that the two worlds truly *met*, not by external contact only, but in the deeps of personal life, in persons that most really belonged and held on to both worlds. We shall see how the world, with all its discords, has had also its preludes to the great harmonies of redemption; has had its incarnations—sons of God, that have come down to live a human life, to undertake human toils, to die a human death: its ascensions—sons of men, that have been lifted up to heaven, and made partakers of divine attributes: we shall see how men have never conceived of this world around us as totally dis severed from that world above us, with an impassable gulf between them, but always as in living intercommunion the one with the other.”—*Hul. Lect.*, p. 202–203.

“It is possible that we may learn a lesson which we need, or at least remind ourselves of truths which we are in danger of suffering to fall too far back in our minds, by the contemplation of those, who, amid all their errors and darkness and confusion and evil, had yet a sense so deeply imprinted, a faith so lively, that man was *from* God, as well as *to* God; capable of the divine, only because himself of a divine race. Oftentimes it would seem as if our theology of the present day had almost lost sight of this, or at least

held it with only too feeble a grasp ; beginning, as it so often does, from the fall, from the corruption of human nature, instead of beginning a step higher up—beginning with man a liar, when it ought to have begun with man the true image and the glory of God.

“ And then, as a consequence, the dignity of Christ's Incarnation, of his taking of humanity, is only imperfectly apprehended. That is considered in the main as a make-shift for bringing God in contact with man ; and not to have been grounded on the perfect fitness of man, as the image of God, of man's organs, his affections, his life, to be the utterers and exponents of all the life, yea, of all the heart of God. It is oftentimes considered the chief purpose of Christ's Incarnation, that it made his death possible, that it provided him a body in which to do that which merely as God he could not do, namely to suffer and to die ; while some of the profoundest teachers of the past, so far from contemplating the Incarnation in this light, have rather affirmed that the Son of God would equally have taken man's nature, though of course under very different conditions, even if he had not fallen—that it lay in the everlasting purposes of God, quite irrespective of the fall, that the stem and stalk of humanity should at length bear its perfect flower in Him, who should thus at once be its root and its crown. But the Incarnation being thus slighted, it follows of necessity, that man as man is thought meanly of, though indeed it is only man as fallen man, as separated by a wilful act of his own from God, to whom this shame and dishonour belong. In his first perfection, in the truth of his nature, he is the glory of God, the image of his Son, as the Son is the image of the Father, declaring the Son as the Son declared the Father :—surely a thought, brethren, which if we duly lay to heart, will make us strive that our lives may be holy, that our lives may be noble, worthy of Him who made us after his image, and when we had marred that and defaced it, renewed us after the same in his Son.”—P. 217-219.

We might pursue our method farther. But we have gone as far as our limits allow, and far enough for our present purpose ; which has been to illustrate and exemplify the spirit of the author before us, with a direct contribution at the same time, under the shadow of his popular and excellent name, to the cause of what we conceive to be the true living theology that is needed for the wants of this age. If God permit, we hope to take up the whole subject again in connection with *Liebner's Christology*, an important German work, the first part of which has lately come into our hands.

J. W. N.

.THE IMMIGRATION.

Among the special phenomena of our time, the *Emigration* which is going forward on so large a scale *from the old world into the new*, is one that well deserves a thorough consideration, from the American point of view, and with regard particularly to its German relations. One is involuntarily reminded by it of those migrations of whole tribes, which preceded the Etrurian and Grecian states, of the *Voelkerwanderung* that helped to bring in the Middle Ages, of the crusades and their associated schemes of colonization, which broke the way for the Reformation and introduced into Europe a new view of the world. True, the emigration of our time may easily be distinguished from these kindred manifestations. It is not the act of any one people as such; it is not the result of religious fanaticism; it carries in it no warlike tendency; it is for the most part the fruit of what may be styled best *family need*; only in *Ireland* perhaps might we refer it more suitably to a real *national need*. It springs prevailingly, either from the inviting picture of future prosperity which the fancy of the would-be emigrant sets in contrast with the harsh realities of his previous condition, or from vexation and disappointment, in not being able with the best will and at least the imagination also of the best judgment, to get forward rightly in previously existing relations. In the case of the *German* indeed, (with which we are here more particularly concerned,) there comes in besides, in vast many instances, his peculiar tendency out into the wide world, a sort of "*Heimweh nach dem All*"—that same *cosmopolite* felling, which is the occasion at once of the genial all sided humanism, as well as of the political weakness, of the German fatherland. There is America open before him, a new world; and with the opportunity of making it the home of his family, follows without difficulty its full adoption as his proper country. At the same time, the greatest factor of this whole vast movement from East to West would be omitted, if we failed to mention the will of *Providence*, which now again also, by such commotion among the nations, seems only to be opening the way for a new grand period in universal history.

While however we doubt not for a moment, that the Divine Providence is pursuing here, as elsewhere, its own sure course, and will at last reach its own sure end by the co-operation of causes out of our sight, we hold still that we are not in the least authorised for this reason to let the interest now in view take its

own course, without direct care or concern about it, without close attention to the way in which it is going forward at this present time, and the consequences to which it may immediately lead. Would to God, the citizens of the old world and of the new might see this to be part of the plan of Providence, that they should show themselves here also co-workers with God, and actively seek to advance what is good and avert what may do harm.

Many may be ready to say indeed: What good is there that can be done? Who can exercise an influence on these immense crowds, now pouring themselves on the shores of the new world? We grant it is no small task. But this precisely forms the strongest requisition on every man to do his part, and such vigorous concert of effort could not fail to have a good effect. And it is not to be concealed, that every single man must himself undergo a distinct influence from so mighty an influx of foreign life into the United States; so that every inhabitant of the country is more or less concerned in it, whether he choose to lay the fact to heart or not. The complaint is often repeated, *that the immigration is bringing the most important institutions of the land into danger*. This may proceed often, we know, from the most impure motives, from a narrow minded selfishness mistaking even its own interest, from extreme political short-sightedness, or from a generally contracted and malignant nature; but still it carries with it a side also of deeply earnest and solemn significance, which is entitled to serious attention. All goes to settle the reception which the foreigners must meet, on the part of the community whose citizenship they come to share. On the whole, both the General Government and the separate States treat the immigration with every sort of encouragement; and from this it is reasonable to conclude, that those who represent the highest intelligence of the country, not only apprehend no injury to the nation from the enormous accessions it is gaining to its population, but expect from it rather the most real advantage. Every one knows too, that this is wholly in the spirit of the American Constitution; and we believe that nothing has served so much as just this cosmopolitism to make it a document of world-historical importance. It stands there as the political *Magna Charta*, not of one people only, but of the nations. The confidence which we as citizens of this country repose in its fundamental principles is so great, that we fear no influence from without as likely to undermine them. The American of the common stamp is happily persuaded besides, that every foreigner comes to him only to acquire from him and to learn.

That Church and State are united in Europe, he explains to himself, with an average vast ignorance of history, or a traditional most onesided view of it, as the violence of political and hierarchic powers exercised over masses held in dumb subjection; and as the Revolution has here cut the knot at one stroke with the sword, and separated the Church from the State, he takes it for granted that there is no room to conceive of any considerable action of one upon the other as in any way possible. We may all congratulate ourselves, if this quiet confidence shall turn out in coming years to have been well grounded. Let us not forget however, that it is not those that have least knowledge of history, the great teacher, who are least able to make such confidence their own, and that it is this same enlightened class who see clouds rising above the horizon of our freedom and peace, without being able to tell how the danger is to be met and turned aside.

The numerical amount of the immigration must itself satisfy any one who considers it without prejudice, that aside from all other relations its mere mass alone forms a highly significant factor, notwithstanding the immense extent of territory over which it is spread. Several thousand came lately in only two days into a single town of the United States; and from the present condition of Europe, the new facilities that are offered for going abroad, and the political views also that are gaining ground more and more in the old world, it may be concluded, that if no special unforeseen events interpose a bar, the movement for a long time to come will increase rather than diminish. In three months, during the present year, as many as ninety-five thousand emigrants came into the harbor of New York. Great as the West of our continent is, if such numbers are to be taken as anything like a measure, it will not need centuries to cover it with as full a population beyond St. Louis as is found now in any part of the East. What a thought, for those who ponder seriously the onward course of humanity! The true historical significance of all this, however, its proper meaning for the world, is found in the supposition that this broad vast territory, thus fully peopled, shall continue to be held together by the bond that now makes the country one; that the same spirit, the same political principles, the same toleration, the same freedom, shall then also pervade and animate the Union, extending from ocean to ocean. This is the great problem, which it may be the will of Providence perhaps that the human race should in due time solve on the American continent. Then indeed would a new stadium be gained for history. The old reproach of European

scholars and statesmen, that America with all its institutions and culture is but an echo of European civilization, would then first find a full reply. The apprehension that its constitution, though seeming to answer some good purpose for a time, will not prove equal to more difficult relations that must rise hereafter, would then at length be fairly put to rest. True indeed, many nations have been bound together in older huge organizations, by one and the same political authority. This was the case for centuries in the Roman empire; so also in the Papacy, whose ban lay more heavily on the nations it professed to spare, than on those that fell under it in form by setting it at defiance. America is the land, where Protestantism should show itself world-historical on the largest scale. Here lies the true mission of the country, in its growth. But just here too must it pass through its refining process. Let us bestow some farther thought on this point.

The most comprehensive expression for the principle of Protestantism, may be found in the idea of *centrifugalism*. History before it was mainly centripetal. All right then, all power, all freedom, all majesty, fell in on some centre, whether as pope in the church, liege lord in the feudal system, or monarch in the state. To these middle points was referred every individual nature and interest from the periphery beyond; in them all else was absorbed as of only transient account; while the entire order rested on one central pillar, drew light from one central sun, and was nourished from the same central fountain. It may easily be seen, that the other half also of the world included in the civilization of the Middle Ages, the nations of Islam, owned properly the very same principle both in politics and religion. The doctrine of fatalism besides of itself causes all individual life to vanish before the unconditional will of God, as before the absolute commands of the ruler of the faithful must vanish too all private will and private opinion. Thus universally was this period pervaded, East and West, with the tendency to centralization. One sees plainly, how narrow that style of thinking is, which after the pragmatical fashion of looking at history affects to refer such general traits of a great world-period, to the personal peculiarities and extravagancies of single conspicuous individuals, as their ultimate cause. We might in this way just as well deny the centrifugal character of our own period, and pretend to account for the spirit of our age, with its whole pressure towards freedom, as the doubtful product simply of some similar agency. Since the revolution however which came in with the 16th century, the history of the civilized world has become one

continued protestation against the former absorption of the individual. Single minds are no longer willing to give up their personal rights, in favor of certain consecrated centres of power. The cry of freedom and emancipation, accordingly, is heard in all lands. In Church and State, centrifugalism has become the order of the day. All seeks to move in its own way by its own light; and there are now millions of men, who seem actually to have lost all centre for their life and its pursuits. All must inhale liberty, though it be an air in which multitudes, living as it were on oxygen gas, are sure after a brief rapture of intoxication miserably to wilt away. Altogether, however, no spectacle is more affecting, than the wrestling of the new period still held in the fetters of the old. In such throes Europe now labors, and still has no power to bring forth a new birth. Through all its kingdoms, in all relations, a party of stability is engaged in conflict with a party of unconditional progress. Let it not be supposed, that the conservative side is governed only by selfish interests and aims. Nor let it be forgotten either on the other side, that the cry of freedom in our day includes but small enthusiasm for the idea, and springs chiefly from the most crass egoism. It has much more to do with the question of *Have* and *Shall*, than with any everlasting good; and political fanaticism shows itself at last of a much more vulgar nature, than that which is religious. Nor is it so easy, alas, to answer the existing political powers and thrones of Europe, when they say that they *must* resist the spirit of revolution, if Europe is not to become a theatre of overflowing desolation, a true murderers' den. But let no one think that we mean by this, to defend the scandalous expeditions of Russia against the mountain tribes of Caucasus, or the old wrong of England towards Ireland. Nay, we are ourselves persuaded rather that just on the self-will of the European potentates, and their policy running counter to the spirit of the century, must lie mainly the blame of that inward dissolution of relations which is now going forward. The gentlemen reap what they have sown. Let any one look only at Germany without prejudice. However quiet may be restored outwardly for a time, the whole rests on a hollow foundation. Silence may be imposed on the mouth, and chains on the restless hand; but thought still goes free, and the spirit of the age is not turned aside from its settled scope. Most significant however is this, that just in Germany the spirit of religious emancipation has reached its extreme. How many of the educated there look upon all positive interest in religion as a want of culture! They indeed have lost the centre; they have a world

without God, and their God is only the world and its process. While with the cultivated and learned this religion of unbelief carries a certain show of spirit, it stands forth in its full coarseness among the lower class; and into this circle unfortunately it has already found its way on all sides. Here its ground tone becomes at once the old song: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die!" And how insecurely do thrones and dignities stand, when bayonets and cannons form their strength, and not the firm conviction of the people themselves that they are divinely sanctioned institutions! Though all seem solid and quiet thus externally, all within is in fact worm-eaten and ready to fall. Did not force and power hold things in order for the present, however, what results should we not be doomed to behold! Germany, in its political relations, in its ecclesiastical dissolution, in its theoretical speculations, well represents the modern centrifugalism with all its abnormities. Make it the present of republicanism, let it go into popular organization—the world will soon see the building of a Babel, and strife without end; the parties will contend with one another, in seeking to set their abstract principles on the throne; but no great centre will they ever find. For liberty also is an abstraction, for which men may be enthusiastic for a time, and its strength lies in opposition; but it is in itself no central force, no cementing power; it is in itself no fountain of peace and life. To become so, it needs other conditions. What is true thus of Germany however, holds here also of France, Italy, and other lands.

And now—the surplus population of this old Europe supplies the mass of our immigration. The Irishman, who there learned to know and hate Protestantism as the great cause of his country's misery, comes here, and sees Romanism and Protestantism peacefully and with fully equal rights dwelling side by side. The French Socialist, on the wide field of the United States, may reduce his theory to practice, and so long as he is not against the law, the law is not against him, but on his side. The German Rationalist, whose heart resented in Germany the necessity of bringing his child to baptism, can here turn his back on Christianity, and the Church will look upon his open honest withdrawal as her real gain. But is not all this along with our circumstances generally a proof, that we have pushed the centrifugalism of our time to its farthest extreme, have clothed the individual with the rights of the absolute? We will not forget however, that this land of liberty has not had within it heretofore in full force the antagonisms, which are now making themselves more and more felt. The *Roman Catholic Church* is

assuming every year a more commanding form; the state of Protestantism grows confused and helpless; the land of liberty is in a fair way to become the asylum and home of the *Jesuits*, expelled from despotic countries; here, where pious sentiment and the fear of God should sanctify law and usage and so uphold our freedom, *infidelity* rears its altars; here, where nothing should pass for right but actual righteousness, the *Red Republican* finds a retreat, whose bloodthirsty mind seeks to advance right by wrong, and peace with the wild spirit of revenge; under the protection of our laws, the *Socialist* and *Communist*, who proclaims property to be theft and possession crime, may spread his doctrine in peace. Wonderful land, which for every poison offers an antidote, where every stone, under superior command, turns itself into bread and every curse into a blessing! Yet—perhaps we say too much, and believe too soon what we should first only hope and wish. May faith among us, and freedom and peace, never be endangered by foreign influence! We are lost however, when reverence for righteousness and law shall no longer form the centre that binds together all tendencies; and lost must be also our influence abroad, and gone at the same time our crown in the history of humanity, when we only preach, *Let there be liberty*, but show not by fruitful and happy example how it is to be guarded and preserved!

With this brief notice of the possible bearings of such vast immigration on our country, and the course of its history, showing that it brings with it certain dangers to be feared along with all its advantages, let us now take note on the other side of the *manifold seductions and snares, which the free new world offers to the bewildered strangers thus brought into its bosom*. If the immigration in their case often works badly for the individual at least, though of vast benefit for the whole, the reason lies to a great extent in this, that the new comers are thrown immediately into relations whose questionable operation it is not hard to understand.—With all of us custom does much, that must otherwise be enforced by law and punishment. If we do much that is bad through custom, we do much that is good also out of custom, for which of course we deserve no thanks. The place where we have lived, surrounds us with countless securities for our moral personality. Not only has the law there become usage, but usage has also grown into law. We cannot so renounce our fealty to the traditional and the common, as no longer to show it any outward respect. No one is willing to incur punishment; and the mere reproach of not regarding what is established as good custom, is for most punishment enough, and such

as they will take pains to avoid. The control which one citizen in this way exercises over another, is of more account than any written law. With this goes the work of every man's calling, the blessing of which is mainly just that it calls him to diligence and work. Add the love of family, the dearest regard of the heart, and we have named the most powerful factors, that go in regular civil life to hold the individual to the track of a true moral co operation for the general good. But now take away at once all these restraints, tear the man completely out of this complex chain of motives—and into what danger is he not hurled! If he be without inward morality, he must fall a prey wholly to his passions; the last bands that held him are rent asunder; the last restraining considerations are gone; and then the depth into which he plunges will be in proportion as his new connections may prove to be without salutary force. Another, better grounded in morality, will yet also be brought into danger by such change, the more serious the less may be his knowledge of the world, the less power he has to help himself in the midst of foreign associations, the more he must trust the good disposition of those to whom he is led in his new course. And truly, if this be all that is left, he is then desolate indeed. The man of true education is least compelled, in the midst of such outward change, to undergo also inward change; but the educated too are just those that are least moved to emigrate. For unless particular reasons prompt the extraordinary step, they have the least prospect of finding it better abroad than at home.

For by far the greatest number of emigrants, the sudden breaking up of their past relations of itself involves serious danger. It may be with them a deliverance from many oppressive restraints, but along with this goes the rupture of many a wholesome living moral check. Now begins however, from the point of quitting home, a still more dangerous period. This is the time strictly of *migration*. It comprehends with the most of our German emigrants a term of from three to six months. In itself considered, a small loss indeed; but in very many cases, by its consequences, of the most far reaching significance. It would seem, that God has not designed man in general for a vagrant life. It is the curse of the Jew, to be everywhere unsettled and transient. Men also who are carried continually by business and quest of money from place to place, and whose home is the highway, are not usually of the best character. They become talkative and empty, cunning but not noble, and altogether their morality gains but little. Still so long as work and calling accompany the wanderer, the danger is not half so

great. Quite otherwise, when he is consigned during travel to *doing nothing*. That this is the beginning of many vices, is especially verified among emigrants. Many of them lose in a few months the moral gain of many previous years. Lying for days and weeks in taverns, without all earnest employment, they are but too frequently brought to yield, through the distracting play of ever new impressions and fresh solicitations continually to enjoyment, to such a spirit of levity as in a short time turns them into different, and unfortunately also into worse men. As in paradise there, their eyes are opened, but only to miserable delusion.

And this has no mystery. Let it only be considered, with what sort of people these emigrants have ordinarily to deal. More deplorable subjects than those into whose hands they generally fall at the stations and ports they pass through, are scarcely to be found in common prisons. In Germany itself indeed religious care has provided, in the large cities, at least some check on vice and temptation, and police regulations are put in force. But let any one go to a sea-port like Havre in France. There is to be found continually a set of men, who have been forced to quit Germany, and with the purpose of going to America or who can say by what other chance have got to this place, where they now seek to keep up their life by making themselves busy with the emigrants. In all our travels in different countries, we have never met with more miserable men, a class more destitute of morality, than these land sharks, who lie in wait for those that thus come by thousands from Germany, thrust themselves upon them as countrymen and friends, are ready to serve them with word and deed, with ungodly frivolous talk undermine their moral principles, provide them with occasions for every sort of vileness, detain their victims, plunder them, and abuse their inexperience in the most shameful way. If any wish for more particular information, and examples in loathesome detail, let them consult only the German and French col-porteurs that labor among the emigrants in Havre. The same dangers and temptations, however, repeat themselves to a great extent in the American sea-ports; and here also it is mainly again German idlers and drunkards, that suck out of the emigrant both his money and his morals, and turn his head especially by their godless talk before him of liberty and independence, deceiving him and filling him with the most false conceptions of the new land of promise, its customs and its rights. There is no doubt but that the subsequent course of life for very many emigrants, has been determined in a great measure by the com-

panions into whose hands they fell during the first three weeks of their life in the new world. Nay, a few days have often been enough in fact to decide a life, to settle the course of whole families. Many a family, received on its arrival with the open arms of pretended love by the Rationalists, has been initiated forthwith in our large cities into their spirit and way, and drawn into their meetings, where public haranguers on Sundays shamelessly make sport of all that is sacred, turning the Bible and its narrations into ridicule; where of course nothing is heard of sin and its consequences, of subduing the evil propensities of the naturally corrupt heart, of the observance of solemn duties to which every one is bound, of the blessing true religion brings on land, house and heart, of everlasting reward and righteous judgment; but the people are flattered, the spirit of the age is magnified, pleasure extolled, and above all liberty, (alas, *what* liberty,) trumpeted to the skies. Often in this way the new comers are imbued in a short time with a view of the world, which exerts the most baleful influence on their whole subsequent character. A dangerous present in truth for many is liberty and independence, which it needs strong limbs rightly to bear! It is the ruin of many, to be raised by liberty to the shining right of helping themselves. Many a German man who had his trade in the old world, has come here, and not knowing at once how to continue it has thankfully hearkened to the advice of his officious friends, and set up forthwith a *beer-shop* or drinking grocery; by which he has neither become a useful citizen, nor led his family in a way of safety—nay, has been himself perhaps the first victim. How many hundred such beer houses, kept mostly by Germans, there are at this time in our cities! In Philadelphia especially they have within two or three years increased frightfully—partly no doubt the result of our Pennsylvania laws, which however otherwise good they may be in this respect at least are heartily bad, and fitted only to undermine the public morals which they should guard and uphold. We Germans however have nothing to expect from it, but that our once good name will more and more sink, the old credit of good and orderly citizenship fall to the ground, and other most questionable notoriety be fastened upon us in its room. But for the immigrant all this is in every view doubly bad. It exposes him to special snares. Every orderly German at the same time must suffer from it, in more than the reputation simply of his nation. Let any one only pass on Sundays by our German beer-shops: there they sit, to use old Homer's harmless simile, like flies round a milk-pan; yet not with *their* gentle buzz; but with noise rath-

er, and senseless cry, at times also with cursing and swearing, or it may be perhaps with quarrelling and fighting outright. And where in the mean time is wife and child? Does the family enjoy the day of rest thus in common? The taverns are full, but how is it with the churches? We have perhaps 30,000 Protestant Germans in Philadelphia alone. Of these not more than 3,000 at most ordinarily attend church on Sundays. But where are the rest? Who can be foolish enough to expect much good from this state of things, as regards domestic life, social position, or public influence? However we may dislike all extreme principles and onesided views, and though we may find in the relations of the foreigners themselves much to account for such evils, and excuse what can bear excuse, the case is still one of real anxiety, that calls for the most vigorous and decisive remedies, and that should stir the heart especially of every capable German to sorrowful feeling, and engage him to the most earnest counteraction both in word and deed.

But we have not yet accompanied the wanderer though the whole of his Ulysses journey. The water travel itself is of no small account. Dangers of all sorts attend it. On the large lakes and rivers of America, he is threatened more than anywhere else with *burning* and *explosion*. In truth these catastrophes have so frequently occurred within the last few years, that we feel bound to notice them here in the name of our immigration. They deserve the most serious attention of the government. The immigrants too have here the hardest lot. What a horrible fate it is, to bid adieu to a beloved fatherland, to tear asunder the tenderest bands, to endure for months long the toil and peril of travel, and at last, almost at the goal, to become the victim of the most reckless and irresponsible carelessness, with a choice only between water and fire! And hundreds of our immigrants have already thus lost their lives. The number of those that perish through wanton neglect on our western waters, is much greater than the number buried in the waves of the ocean. On the sea however, other dangers of a *moral* nature are so much the more at hand. Think only of from 300 to 500 persons crowded together five or eight weeks long in a single ship, where they have nothing properly to do all this time. Consider farther the way in which they are huddled together in the vessel; old and young, male and female, good and bad live there promiscuously together; the time is passed in talking, singing, cooking, eating, drinking, playing, and dancing—anything in short to get rid of weariness. The anxiety of the voyage is generally over in two or three days; afterwards there is so much

the greater outbreak of levity, previously restrained, and things occur which it is better not to trust to the pen. Only a few days since an emigrant told us, who reported his ship companions as over 500, that the levity of the company was beyond all bounds, and when asked if they had no preacher replied, they had one indeed who gave them one sermon, but soon became so merry himself that it would have been better he had not preached at all. A bad business that! We could relate however far worse things still from such mass mingling of so many persons in idleness. If there be no help for the idleness, every other means should be so much the more employed, to uphold order and right manners, and to sow good seed instead of allowing free growth to all sorts of weeds.

Of the many shameless *deceptions* also to which the emigrants are exposed, from ship agents in the old world, and from land speculators and their factors in the new—how they are now detained, now put on false tracks, now grossly robbed of their little money by pretended passports: Of the danger again to which just the best are most exposed, of falling soon after their arrival into the hands of *fanatics* and *sectaries*, so as to exchange their solid principles of practical piety for the show and noise that are here too often current in its stead: Of the difficulties moreover that arise for the German emigrant in particular, from his ignorance of the reigning language, hindering him in his business, keeping him from the knowledge of the laws, and shutting him out often from full insight into the spirit of the nation and a proper view of its relations as a whole: Of all this, we say, and more besides, we might say much. These hints however may suffice, to give us some proper apprehension of the case under consideration, to illustrate the dangers that surround it, and to rouse our zeal for their partial mitigation at least if nothing more.

That much might and should be done for the *reduction of these evils*, admits of no doubt. The military orders of the Middle Ages were founded, to protect the emigrants of the crusades in danger, to take care of them in poverty, sickness and sorrow. And shall *our* time not be willing to do its part?—Societies already exist here and there indeed for the benefit of immigrants, and their activity is blest no doubt a thousand fold. But how much more might be accomplished, if they were united in one common work. Even then however their strength would not be fully answerable by itself to the work or the need. For help here means a great deal. Perhaps the government of this country is itself still behind its duty towards the immigration. That

the German governments at all events neglect the matter, has often been charged upon them as a solemn reproach.

But it is not so easy to determine, *how* or by *what means* the work of relief should proceed. We do not consider ourselves at all able to propose the right measures. The whole object requires a combination of large moral and pecuniary resources. But we have such a sense of its importance, and such faith in the good result of every enterprise prompted by wise human charity, that no sacrifice made for it would seem to us to be too great. Bodily and spiritual care should be secured to the emigrant during his journey. Were a great society formed for this end, and could the European governments be enlisted, printed directions and instructions should be furnished them in trust, with the request to have a copy handed at once to every one thinking of emigration, on the first noise of his purpose; whereby he might gain some proper information on the journey, the ways, the stations, the dangers to be avoided, the necessary cost for individuals and for families, on the proper conduct to be observed in traveling, on the purchase of lands, on the character of trades, &c., so as to have his whole prospect in view, and to be put upon due reflection before starting. At all the leading stations should be placed agents of the society, ready to come forward with counsel and help, who should be themselves raised above the possibility of seeking money from the strangers. On the ships should be found a preacher, and also a library of useful books. Could the society itself own ships, where there might be fixed order, a common table, and separate rooms for different families—how much mischief would it not prevent! In the seaports, where the emigrants set sail and land, should be erected large buildings, where at just cost, and under strict regulations of order, a temporary home should be open for the pilgrims, where sick persons and children especially might find loving care, and from whence adults might find opportunity for work, if choosing to remain as laborers in the cities, or for going on journey as quickly as possible, if bound for the interior of the country—so as to avoid tavern perils and the trickery of false friends. Printed directories to places where they could attend christian worship in the larger American cities, in their own tongue and free from all sectarian exclusiveness, with instructions on the relation here holding between Church and State, and the sacred duty of attaching themselves as members to christian congregations according to the faith of their fathers, as well as on much besides, should be placed in the hands of every individual. Might such means and ways not meet all the evils of

the case, they would at least work much good of a partial sort, which might be expected to issue gradually in a more general influence.

Still the weightiest question remains unanswered. Where is the *fountain* of this blessing? Who are *the persons that shall or can lay hand to the work*? It is not to be expected of the governments on this side of the Atlantic or the other should undertake it; the whole matter lies beyond their sphere; and if they did offer it their hand, we believe the object would be a failure from the start. That the Roman Catholic Church has undertaken nothing of the sort for its own members, and those who might become such, has always surprised us, since by their diligence and zeal in other similar enterprises they often put us Protestants to shame. It might be expected first from the foreign citizens of the new world perhaps, that they would be foremost in helping the necessities of immigrants. In part they are so; there are societies among them for this purpose in New-York, Philadelphia, and other places. But however praiseworthy their efforts may be, and in single cases useful, they are not equal to the whole task. So vast a work demands the co-operation of very considerable powers. The great Colonization Society, to which the best citizens of the land belong and which has already won a comparatively glorious success, leaves us not without hope that if the eyes of influential and leading men of the country could be turned to the subject we have had here in hand, and their interest enlisted in it, a benevolence equally effective may yet meet the emigrant coming hither from Europe also, to guide him and shield him from harm. And truly it would be such a sowing of good, as could not fail to bring in a rich return of fruit. For the immigrants and their families begin in some sense a new life with their arrival in our midst; altogether new relations surround them, new duties are laid upon them, new cares overtake them. How much hangs here on a good beginning, how important it is that the new conflict be commenced, not with a spirit of levity, but rather in the fear of God! To this a great *Immigration Society* animated with christian zeal would above all contribute; and the reflex action which its work must have on the population of the country itself would be beyond calculation. The blessing of immigration depends on this, that those who come shall be truly worthy citizens, as friends of order seek to advance all good, and as members of a great association of free people have a lively sense of the importance of every action and of the conduct of every man. It is not the highest end of their adoption here, that they should find in their

new home what to eat, but that they should act on noble public spirited principles, and never lose sight of the bearing of their conduct on the general weal. Then first will they know how to serve the benefit of the whole along with their own. And much would be gained, if all who come were made to feel these sacred duties in their full weight.

Philadelphia,

W. J. M.

PAST AND PRESENT.

To every intelligent observer of the progress of the world's life from one age to another, the signs of our time are fraught with deep and abiding interest. No one can study the scientific and moral lessons which this age has imposed on him, without feeling that more than school-boy mind and skill is needed for their proper mastery. On every hand latent principles are at work, and secret events transpiring, which loudly call for judicious and honest investigation. On all sides strange spiritual phenomena, full of significance and mystery, challenge our solemn regard. Though we only see and know in part the significance of the world's historical process, yet we see and understand enough to prompt our moral instincts to feel after something deeper and more comprehensive, of which these manifestations are only the external revelation. Though we cannot fully see into and through the complex operations of the world's vast time-piece, yet there is an iron tongue in that grand horologe, which strikes the hour of its revolutions. It is not uncommon for man, and many even of high literary reputation, to regard History simply as a pragmatic collection and logical combination of authentic events, chronicled and registered according to the best mechanical ability of the composer. The mighty Past full of life and interest, possessed of infinite conceptions and unfathomable feelings, is eviscerated; cut up in strict anatomical style, and put together like a skeleton. Their world either works, like some brains, by clock-work, or stands still. When such men look back and up to hoary headed antiquity for its wisdom and counsel to instruct and direct them, they only hear, as might be anticipated, the hollow murmurs of another wooden (Trojan) horse. Did this flagrant error abide within the limits of mere theory, the wrong committed would be partially atoned for by the bitter pangs endured in its perpetration. But opinions like

showers, being generated in high places, inevitably descend into lower ones, and ultimately flow down to the unstable mass as rain into the wavering sea. Hence the generality of men have come to look upon and regard the rich instructions of antiquity with glazed eyes and stony hearts. To them its wonderful revelations are unintelligible hieroglyphics; and if some honest antiquarian attempt to decipher these mysterious writings penned by an invisible hand, he is at once thought to have some secret hankering after the flesh-pots of Egypt. Such men would rather pay their compliments to some old fortune-telling dame, and by trick of legerdemain learn the prospects for the future, than sit at the feet of the venerable Past and imbibe its sage lessons.

This widely prevalent error working theoretically and practically manifold pernicious results, which of course we cannot here even notice, is mainly attributable to a false conception of the nature of history. The vast upheavings of thought, and the revolutions in actual life which have occurred in past ages, are regarded only as transient phenomena to excite the wonder and admiration of those who may have seen them. The vast spiritual Gothic domes reared by the genius and application of past ages have been entombed, like Herculaneum and Pompeii, beneath the smouldering ashes of wasting years; and if a relic has chanced to survive the general wreck, it is preserved simply as a memento of former glory and later ruin. The principles which have struck deep their roots in the fertile soil of the past, and which are now Banian-like spreading wide their branches for the protection and comfort of future ages, are totally disregarded, or at best looked upon with suspicious misgivings. It is moreover pretended to support such an ultra radical and unhistorical theory, by plausible argumentation. The pressing claims of the Present are held out as imperatively demanding all our time and attention. The present startling realities with which we are confronted on every side, are enough to engross our thoughts, and employ our hands. Why geologist-like should we dig into the bowels of the Past, and reveal its hidden treasures, when we have sufficient in our own day and generation. Why shall the canonized bones hearsed in death burst their cerements? Why shall the sepulchre wherein lifeless bodies have been quietly inurned open its marble jaws to unfold its wisdom, when we are surrounded by living preceptors? If they hear not the instructions of our age, they will not listen even though one rose from the dead.

The imperfections, and "pious sins" of our honoured ancestors are brought into swell the force of the objection. The

shades of departed spirits are conjured up as if by magic power, and their occult guilt unkennelled. With apparent triumph it is exultingly asked, shall the infant Past, incapacitated for its own self-government, instruct and govern us who long since have laid aside our swaddling clothes? Shall children rise up to teach their parents lessons which they have never learned themselves? But even grant the mental capabilities and moral qualifications of the Past, where is the guaranty that we shall understand its sacred oracles. How shall we be assured that we are not giving heed to the false doctrine, and the seducing spirit of some treacherous Simon!

Now in reply to these several positions, betraying an utter want of faith in the development of the world's past life, we affirm that History is on the one hand the revelation of the Divine reason and will, and on the other the evolution of the life of humanity. God and man mutually co-operate in this vast world-process, form the dignification and perfection of human life, and thereby the glorification of the Divine will. There is in the world, and in every period of its progressive movement, an unseen Divinity, that shapes all our ends, according to the configuration of its own glorious type. To attain this consummation devoutly wished for, is the aim and end of life. To this human nature is ever aspiring like the Pegasus of Achilles,

ὅς θνητός εἰν, καὶ ἐπεθ' ἀθανάτοισι κίποις.

The world then is vastly more than it seems to be at any given time to the eye of sense, or the ear of the understanding. Beyond and beneath its external manifestations, there lies imbedded a quickening spirit only cognizable through the spiritual. Politicians in Faneuil Hall, and ecclesiastics in Nauvoo Temple, with the New York Tribune and the Mormon Gazette for their Bibles, may rant as they like, about the simplicity of the world and its capability of being reduced to some strict mathematical problem. They may attempt to dissect human society, and reconstruct it after their own fashion; but in so doing they repeat with more disastrous consequences the folly of the boy, who cut open his mother's Canary, to find the origin of its sweet notes. This world is not controlled by simply sensuous interests, we are the actors in a drama, in which unseen spirits take part.

It is only the manifestation of this active spirit that we see and handle; its immaterial essence, "mocking all attempts to grasp it" is known only by its felt presence. This Divine power immanently active in the world is creating constantly new

changes, and wonderful transformations, analogous to those vast world-cycles formed by the spirit, when first it brooded over chaos. Violent revolutions mark the progress of the world. We are not drawn along an inclined plane by some stationary engine, but in cars freighted with immortal souls we are whirled along deep, dark ravines on to our destined depot. With the roaring and surging noise of many waters, History moves forward, purifying itself, and clearing others by its supernatural agitation. The moral problem underlying this whole process is profoundly perplexing. Not by a single stroke of the pencil, can it ever be brought to a satisfactory and final solution. How the absolute sovereignty of the law may fall in with the perfect independence and freedom of its subjects, will puzzle many a brain. The magnitude of the work, and the agencies employed, involve in their very nature an extended gradual process for its accomplishment. Every age has its part to play, and its work to perform in this world-historical drama. Every age, being a metamorphosis of the world's life, involves an *idea* corresponding with its peculiar nature, the conscious apprehension and free possession of which, completes one stadium in this vast spiritual curriculum. The action of an age and the conscious comprehension of its *acta*, which like the two-fold action in respiration mutually condition each other, bring that particular age, and its problem to a termination and demonstration. Thus one period dies away, and from its pregnant ashes a new epoch, Phoenix-like, takes its birth. The principles of any single age are *per se* one-sided and incomplete, their true value and significance appearing in the organic structure of which they form component parts. Thus the Mediaeval Ages were called upon to establish the absolute authority of the law over against the private assumptions of individual licentiousness, which like a canker-worm was gnawing at the heart of the social structure, and in vampire style sucking its very life blood. The red battle grounds of imperial Cæsar were again stained with blood shed in defence of the rights of civil and ecclesiastical law. The chambers of the Quirinal, and the silent halls of the Vatican, were waked up by the tones of eloquence in behalf of human rights and human obligations. For centuries the irrefragable iron arm of the united Papal power struggled in stern conflict, with the radical unbridled Vandalism that threatened the very foundations of Christianity. The conquest was finally achieved in the heroic person of the indomitable Hildebrand, who stands forth as the incarnation and living embodiment of the spirit of his age. The supremacy of the law, once asserted and established through-

out all the departments of thought and life, was carried in the hands of arbitrary men to scornful tyranny on the one hand, and degrading vassalage on the other. This spiritual incubus, depressing the human intellect, led to a reaction in favor of individual rights, and personal responsibilities. To the Protestant age has been committed the onerous task of developing this principle to its ultimate point. And we need but look within us and around, to see the fearful consequences which have ensued. Human freedom is assumed to be the right and duty of every man to think and act as he may please. Theoretical rationalism and practical sectarianism recognize no authority, save a misguided reason and a broad-brimmed hat or buttonless coat. Political libertines understand no government save lynching mobocracy. That the main current of the world in general, and of our money-making practical America in particular, has for some time past tended in this direction, is too evident to need labored proof.

All respect and veneration for the true and good, which is the only legitimate form of absolute freedom, has been swallowed up in the eddying whirl-pool of sensualizing ambition. The fundamental principles of Ethics have been converted into two chapters in political economy—the one for this world and the other for the next. That honesty which makes man at least a noble work of God, has been transmuted by the alchemists of our day into the alloy of base policy.—A strange policy is that, which has carried thousands to the stake and gibbet; and which would carry many more of us there if we only had it; or at least to poverty which some men think worse. But the better spirit of our age promises the dawn of a brighter day. Already the delicate streaks of that day's sun are pencilling the black clouds of this dark night. Beyond the dreary, howling moral wilderness lies the land of bright hopes and blissful realizations. Though we be not permitted to enter in and possess it, yet it is our duty as well as privilege, like Moses on Pisgah's top, to look towards it.

The solution of this vexing problem, *ex parte* at least, over which two ages have stumbled, is reserved for the genius of our day. Girt with the bequeathed mantle of their wisdom and experience, we are called to answer the question: How in actual life shall the opposite, though not contradictory claims of absolute objective authority, and individual subjective freedom, be fully reconciled? How shall these two poles of the world's moral composition be so ordered as to flow together by mutual attraction? That this proposition is to be elaborated in our age

is evident from the developments of the present, as well as from the revelations of the past. What have meant the convulsive throes of Europe, if they be not the birth-pangs of such an era? For a long time there has been a creative spirit struggling for utterance in her sleeping body and dreaming mind, which has at length spoken in tones of frowning terror. And if we understand its voice, is it not a struggle between despotic crowned heads on the one side, and manacled hands and fettered feet on the other? But let us not forget that young America, as well as old Europe, has a vote to cast, in the decision of this perplexing question. Though we be not fortunately required to meet it, like our elder brother, with the wrath-clad brow of the Jupiter Tonans of Virgil, rolling his deep-toned thunder, and darting his vivid lightning, yet we may interpose more effectually, like that same Jupiter discoursing with Venus,

Vultu quo cælum tempestatesque serenat.

Deep conscious reflection will accomplish more than superficial blind-folded action. Moreover it is only by earnest thought, as the ground of action, that the calling of our age can be answered. The God of History has not assigned us a mere outward charge in the world, with a commission simply to lay iron railways, and construct burden cars, for the transportation of merchandise; or to erect posts, and suspend wires, for the transmission of thought. These splendid triumphs of mind over matter, by which the untamed lightnings have been caught and chained, are doubtless unparalleled in the conquests of the Past. The smoke that curls up from the chimney of a puffing locomotive, means more than the dusky columns that rise from blazing battle-fields. The silent operations of the magnetic telegraph are more expressive than the thunder of artillery. But far grander than all this is the magnanimous triumph of the human mind over itself, by which it attains to its normal development. He that ruleth his spirit is greater than he that taketh a city. The achievements of Mechanical Philosophy, after all, constitute only the outer court of the magnificent spiritual temple, in whose sacred ark, overlaid with pure gold, lies the "living law." To communicate with the Divine idea that rules in the world, and submit to its transforming power, is far nobler, than royal supremacy over the elements of Nature. It is in such active submission that the dignity of human life consists. To be honest with ourselves, and true to our day and generation, we must consciously fall in with the deep spirit of the age, and act manfully under its corrective influence. How many failing

to do this fritter away their lives in useless speculation, or lawless practicalism, and receive for their wrong-doing a mental retribution. "We live in deeds," not years; in thoughts, not breaths; in feeling, not in figures on a dial. He lives most, who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best. But act as we may, we are certified by the trumpet voice of the Past, which gives no uncertain sound, that the spirit of every age will fulfil its mission. Though utter unbelief look on with indifference; and utilitarian Honesty only wield a weapon, like that in the hands of Priam,

Telum imbelle sine ictu,

the invisible spirit of our age will gird on its steel-barred armor, and unsheath its devouring sword, to maintain the faith once delivered into its hands. How the idle dilettantism and working mammonism of our Midas-eared age will quail and quake, in the day when its wrath shall be kindled!

Trenton, N. J.

S.

THE END OF VOLUME II.

Published by the Alumni Association of Marshall College.

THE
MERCERSBURG REVIEW:

DEVOTED TO
THEOLOGY, LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

NEQUE ENIM QUAERO INTELLIGERE UT CREDAM, SED CREDO UT INTELLIGAM:—
Anselm.

VOLUME II.—NUMBER I.

JANUARY, 1850.

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1850.

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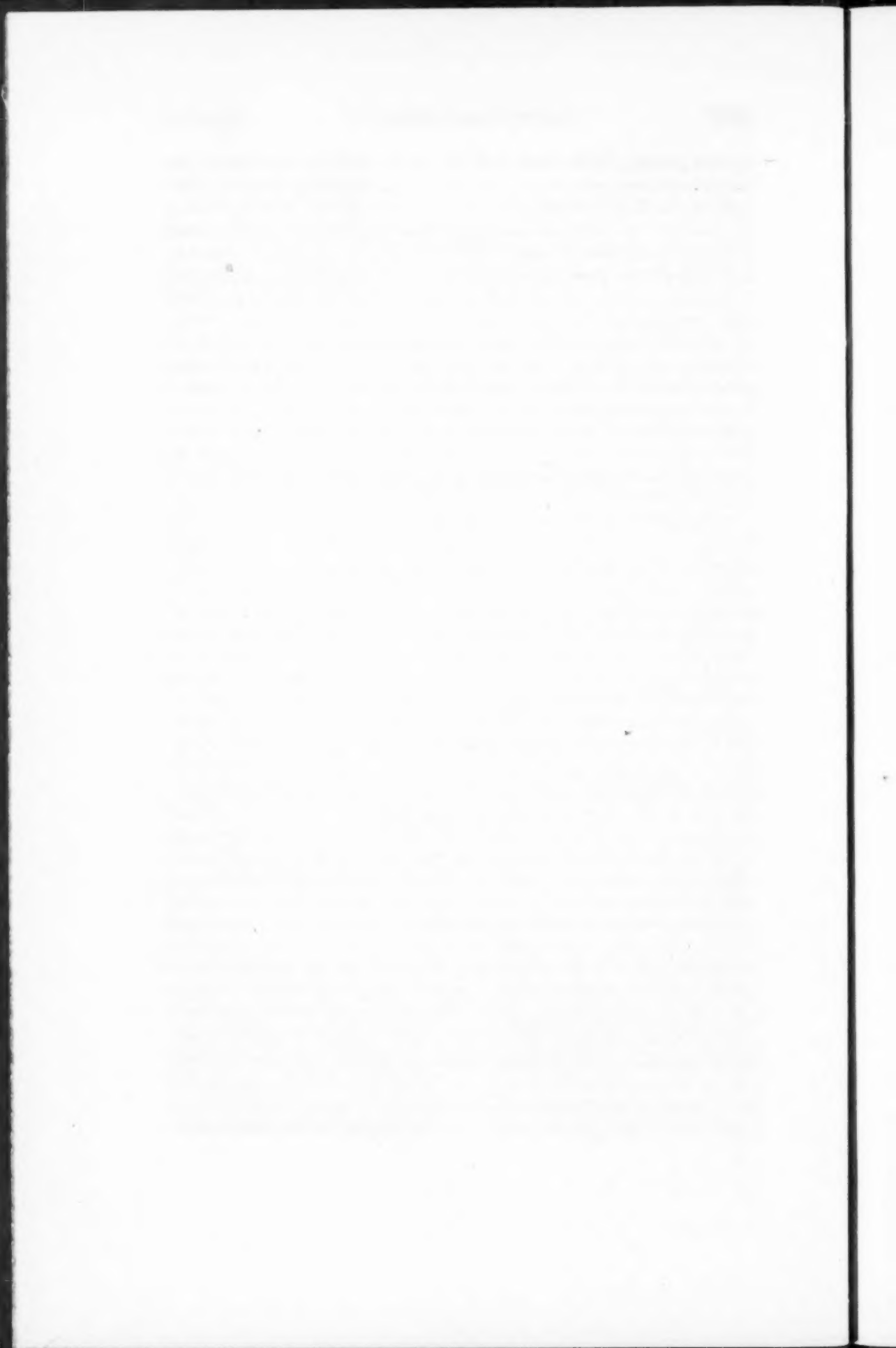
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